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ABSTRACT

A case study of the first 10 years of the University of Papua New Guinea is presented, with attention focused on the function, structure, and character of a new university in a newly independent nation. The analysis is based on the three issues of adaptation, conflict, and change, and the case study is designed to test how well past social theories fit the reality of a new university in a Melanesian environment, which is characterized by oral transmission of culture, an agricultural economy (until recently), and its history as a colony. The establishment of the University, difficulties with the Australian Department of Territories, early university leaders, and various kinds of struggles are described. Additional considerations include: the contribution of staff to the educational and political life of the colony and new nation, problems facing new students, social problems arising from bringing together sometimes antagonistic people, and the special problems of the small minority of women on campus. Finally, the complex organization of the university and the external environment are examined, including the challenge of reconciling the problems of local relevance with the demands of international standards of scholarship. The methodological and theoretical frameworks for the analysis are also discussed. (SW)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

A Case Study in the Sociology of Higher Education

V. LYNN MEEK

HE 015 913

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Contents

List of Tables *vii*
List of Figures *ix*
Preface *xi*
Abbreviations *xiii*

PART I: INTRODUCTION

I The Methodological Framework *1*

General Logic of the Case *7*
Research Techniques *12*

II Identification of Major Issues: Adaptation, Change, and Conflict *16*

Major Issues: Adaptation, Change, and Conflict *17*

PART II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

III Introduction to Part II *27*

IV The Structure and Function of the University as an Organization or Community *31*

PART III: THE PIONEERING STAGE

V Introduction to Part III *46*

VI Historical Background to the Development of Education in PNG *50*

Education in Pre-World War II PNG *51*
Postwar Policies *55*
Development of a Modern, Educated Elite *65*
Summary *66*

VII The Institution and its Exogenous Environment *69*

Foundation *69*
The Exogenous Environment *75*
The Saga *86*

VIII Internal Structural Arrangements *91*

The Nature of the First Student Body *93*
The First Structural Arrangements *99*
Adaptations *105*

PART IV: THE FIRST STAGE OF CONSOLIDATION

IX Introduction to Part IV *116*

X The Relationship Between the University and a New Exogenous Environment *119*

- Formal Links between University and Government *119*
- An Inappropriate Saga *125*

XI Change in the Endogenous Environment *133*

- Innovations in Academic Government *133*
- The Administrative Branch and Council *143*
- Innovations in the Faculty of Arts *148*
- Innovations in the Curriculum and Conflicts over Basic Institutional Goals *152*

XII Indigenous Students: A Changing Clientele *161*

- Students and Rural Development *169*
- Economic Disparities between Black and White *171*
- Social Control *175*
- How Students Spend Their Time *184*
- Relationship between Staff and Student *187*

PART V: THE SECOND STAGE OF CONSOLIDATION

XIII Introduction to Part V *196*

XIV New Leadership *198*

- Localization of the Position of Vice-Chancellor *198*
- Localization in General *207*
- Change and Social Structure *214*

PART VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: A THEORETICAL REVIEW

XV Summary and Conclusion: A Theoretical Review *219*

- Major Issues: Adaptation, Change, and Conflict *237*

Bibliography *239*
Index *261*

Tables

I Primary School Age Enrolments in PNG-Curriculum Primary Schools by District, 1974 *56*
II Form IV High School Leavers (PNG Curriculum Schools only), 1966-74 *63*
III Source of UPNG Students (excluding preliminary year) by Country of Origin, for Years 1970-75 *98*
IV UPNG Bachelor Degree Student Enrolments by Faculty for Years 1969-1975 *101*
V Number of UPNG Teaching Staff (Main Campus only) by Level of Appointment for Years 1968-75 *136*
VI UPNG Indigenous Undergraduate Students by District, 1975 *164*
VII UPNG Full-Time Staff Positions by Nationality (excluding Goroka Teachers College), 1975 *209*

Figures

I Normative Conflict Model of University Organization *33*
II Recommended University Structure (Abbreviated) *72*
III UPNG Structure of Academic Government *134*
IV UPNG Administrative Structure *146*

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PREFACE

The following is based on an examination of the function, structure, and character of a new university in a newly independent nation. The work arises from a thesis presented to the Committee of Social and Political Sciences in the Faculty of Economics and Politics at the University of Cambridge. Empirical data was supplied from an extensive case study of the University of Papua New Guinea.

Analysis is structured around three basic issues — adaptation, conflict, and change — and the case study is designed to test how well past social theories fit the reality of a new university in a Melanesian environment. The basic conclusion to be drawn from the research is that past theories on conflict and change in university organization are not entirely applicable to the Papua New Guinean situation. Past theories have been developed through the analysis of institutions with hierarchical structures and they fall short when applied to an institution with a more egalitarian pattern. Conflict exists at the University, but it is not distributed up and down a hierarchical structure. Rather, conflict within the University is generated at the base of the structure and is as much a result of existential behaviour, past patterns of socialization, norms, and values, as it is a result of the pattern of interrelationships. Possibly, it is to the degree which a social structure is based on egalitarian principles that an individual can act existentially, and it is on this plane where social theories which account only for relational processes fail to explain fully the University of Papua New Guinea community.

The text is organized into six parts. While Part I introduces the methodological framework and sets out the main issues to be examined, Part II deals with the theoretical framework. Parts III to V report on the empirical data gained from the field study. In the conclusion, Part VI, an attempt is made to examine further the theoretical elements discussed in Part II, drawing from experience gained in the field.

The debts of gratitude I incurred in completing this study are numerous. First and foremost I must express my appreciation to the men and women of the University of Papua New Guinea for accepting into their midst a prying social researcher. I am particularly indebted to Mr A. O'Neill and Professor Donald Denoon for taking an active interest in the research.

The Managers of the Smuts Foundation provided a grant which paid for my travel expenses. It would have been impossible to carry out the field research without their financial support.

I would like to thank Dr E. Waters and Dr S. Firth, both past faculty members of the University of Papua New Guinea, and Mr Ray Jobling of the University of Cambridge, for their comments on earlier drafts of the present text. I have attempted to incorporate many of their suggestions into some of the interpretations offered in the following pages.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Di Davies. She not only typed earlier drafts of the present text, but also provided the material and emotional support necessary for any scholar who endeavours to produce written work.

The above and many other people too numerous to list individually were helpful in many different ways. However, nothing at all which appears in the following pages should be construed as representing the interpretations of any person other than myself.

V.L.M.
May 1981

ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	Administrator's Executive Council
Currie Report	*Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea*
Department of Territories	The name of the Department of Territories was changed to the Department of External Territories in 1968. However, for the sake of brevity and consistency, the former title is used throughout the text.
Gris Report	*Report of the Committee of Enquiry into University Development*
PMC	Papuan Medical College
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SRC	Students' Representative Council
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Today Papua New Guinea (PNG) supports two universities. One, the University of Papua New Guinea, first opened its doors to degree students in 1967. The other, the University of Technology, was upgraded to university status from its former position as the Institute of Technology in 1973. The present research is based on a case study of the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). For a colourful introductory passage to the setting of this study, the following words by a former UPNG staff member (Griffin, 1976:99) would be difficult to equal:

> The buildings of the University of Papua New Guinea...have been shrewdly planned and superbly sited. The best approach to them from Port Moresby is by the back route through Barune. This passes the great village of Hanuabada with its stilted shacks standing in the sea, and winds past the war-bombed hulk of the *Macdhui*, past the inhospitable causeway which leads to the village on Tatana Island, past ugly clusters of shanties, and then through unpopulated hills which intimate the ever-rising levels that consummate in the cordillera of New Guinea's majestic and mysterious interior. After some eight miles the road rises to a crest for a sudden vision of the low spread of raw, grey, blockish concrete buildings on a 1,000 acre site in the June Valley. Beyond, particularly on a clear morning in the wet season, the gigantic indigo backdrop of the Owen Stanley Range can be seen rising to the peak of Mt. Victoria (13,363 ft.). Lieutenant-Governor MacGregor himself was the first white man to scale this mountain (1889) but not until after he had bullied his indigenous carriers who wanted to turn back because 'no man could ever reach the Great Mountain' [Souter, 1963:65]... MacGregor was, in a sense, making an assault on superstition. It took, however, another eighty years before the June Valley far below, now known as Waigani, witnessed a more co-operative assault on superstition with the establishment of PNG's premier educational institution.

This research is concerned with the introduction of higher education in a newly independent nation, and the vehicle of such introduction, the 'complex organization". There have been many general discussions of the economic, political, social, and educational significance of higher education implanted in new states by external sponsors and internal interests. But few studies have analyzed these processes in terms of a single institution in a specific society.

Gans (1962:336) observes that: "the findings of any study are intrinsically related to the method used to develop them" and that "findings are also affected by research purposes". Before outlining the general logic and requirements of the case study "method" or "approach"(1) it may be worthwhile to state my two basic purposes for conducting the present research and how they coincide with the case study method.

The first reason for conducting this study is my desire to understand the social structure and process involved in establishing a university and its development over a period of time. So-called "institution building" is a subject in which I have a deep concern. I am interested in how groups and individuals, in establishing a formal organization, set for themselves certain goals and aims and then proceed to create a social structure through which to achieve their objectives.

Clearly, how individuals and groups decide their goals and aims, and the way they work through the social structure which they create, are dynamic processes, involving, at the very least, the politics of decision-making, symbolic interaction, conflict, and change. My objective is to understand in detail how a particular university has developed over a period of time and the significance — or "meaning" in the Weberian sense — that the individuals involved attach to this development. The case study method is particularly suited to this purpose, for it is a method which stresses study in depth, comprehensive understanding (about which we will have more to say below), and the detailed consideration of the dynamics of change and conflict (Baldridge, 1971a:31-33; Becker, 1968:232-33).

Briefly stated, the first purpose of this research is to study UPNG as a "complex organization". The reader may suspect that a study based on the theories and concepts of organizational analysis is better left to institutions in the industrialised western nations, and that it has little or no relevance to the environment of a new state. But the university is, among other things, a western institution based on western principles and concepts. The modern university has its intellectual and structural roots in Germany and France and, though we find universities in Africa, India, Asia, and the South Pacific, their basic structures and goals are not drawn from age-old traditions within these societies, but from without — usually from the colonial metropolis (Ashby, 1964a).

Universities have been transplanted in a variety of nations, and in various ways they change and adapt to the conditions of their new environment. In fact, "all universities find themselves confronted with a fundamental problem: how to reconcile relevance to local needs with loyalty to international standards" (Ashby, 1964a:3; also see Shils, 1968a; Duff, 1966; and Wilson, 1979). But whether in India, Nigeria, or Papua New Guinea, the university remains an alien structure, "a perpetual reminder of another world" (Ashby, p.2). And the character of the society within any new state, is, in part, determined by the manner in which local political and social leaders come to terms with the structure and process of introduced western institutions.

The people of PNG must decide for themselves what role and function they want their universities to perform. If at least some detailed understanding is gained about how specific western institutions function in the PNG context, it may aid the process of rational and realistic social planning. I believe, therefore, that a study of UPNG as a "complex organization" is not only valid sociological research, but research which is relevant to the PNG context.

The second basic reason for conducting this research is my desire to understand how a university interacts with its environment: how the function of a university is affected by the environment in which it is placed and how the environment itself is affected by the presence of a university. This purpose of the research centres on how UPNG has "adapted" to the PNG context and on the nature of the University's participation in the social, political, and economic life of the country.

Even though a university in a newly independent nation is a foreign implant, it needs to change and adapt to meet the requirements of its immediate environment. As previously mentioned, the conflict between "local relevance" and "international standards" is probably a form of stress inherent to all universities in all nations. But when considering the problem of local relevance and adaptation of university structures and goals, we need to assess what specific structures and goals are being adapted to meet what needs and interests in the local society. To say the least, this is a complex exercise. Few societies are ever static. Rather, what is defined as being relevant to the needs and requirements of any one society changes with time. "The word 'relevant' is almost empty of meaning" (C. Wilson, 1979:22); the consideration of local relevance has no sociological import until we ask the question "what is relevant for whom?". An understanding of not only the structure and process of the UPNG community, but also this community in the context of its environment, requires the detail which can be achieved through the use of the case study method.

Unfortunately, there has been a tendency for the sociologist to look at problems of development and the role played by higher education in terms of universal theories (often no more than ethnocentric assumptions) of development and modernization. The concepts promoted by this approach, as Goody (1973:342) observes, assume that in terms of certain universal processes, all new nations share a common history. They were colonized and then decolonized. They were primarily traditional societies now becoming modern, and they are all placed somewhere on a continuum from being extremely underdeveloped to becoming like the industrialized western nations.

The assumption underlying many studies of modernization is that once a society becomes sufficiently differentiated, its development towards industrialization will be continuous. However, this model has not proved to be an adequate predictor of social reality, as verified by many of the participants at the conference on State Formation and Nation Building held in 1970 at Cérisy-la-Salle, Normandy. From that conference came three major criticisms of modernization studies, summarized by Eisenstadt (1973:48):

> One denied the closed systemic interrelations among different aspects of society... The second major critical theme — closely related to the allegation of historical closure and Western-centricity — held that the seemingly contentless definition of systemic capacity and growth is in reality bound by the specific premises of the Western-centered model... The third strand assailed the neglect of external factors — especially those concerning international relations, inequality, and dependence between societies.

The study of "modernization" in new states is often based on a comparative method which has its intellectual roots in nineteenth-century evolutionary theory (Tipps, 1973:204; Nisbet, 1969:205-8; and Mazrui, 1968). The social, cultural, and economic development of various societies are compared in terms of "stages of growth". The stages of growth are developed with the aid of a biological metaphor and are defined in terms of what was experienced by western nations in their attempts to industrialize (see Parsons, 1966; and Nisbet's 1969 criticisms of his work, pp.262-67).

Shils (1963:19) states that the comparative study of new states has freed itself from its "evolutionary encrustations". He writes that the comparative perspective "need not be accompanied by any particular philosophy of history, with any theory of stages, of any inevitable sequence throughout the course of human history". But wherever comparative research commences with assumptions of universal processes — assumptions which do not take into account the diversity of concrete social events as they exist in specific places and at specific points in time — we are likely to find strong connotations of nineteenth-century social evolutionary theory. Nisbet (1969:205) believes that the present use of the comparative method remains closely tied to its nineteenth-century intellectual roots:

> Classificatory systems widely used at the present time in the study of non-Western cultures derive straight from the nineteenth century's Comparative Method. To a very large extent these systems employ as their criteria for separation of the "progressive" from "non-progressive" peoples (or, as is much commoner at the present time, "modernized" from the "relatively modernized" or "non-modernized") the self-same qualities — technology, individualism, secularism, etc. — that the intellectuals of the Enlightenment in France discovered and that the social evolutionists in the nineteenth century conceptualized into a framework of evolutionary comparison.

It is one thing to sense that a society has experienced profound change, but quite another to summarize all change, all social advancement (and in the process ignore significant social digressions), and all the psychological complexity of individual citizens through the use of a single scientific concept, for instance, "modernization" or "development". Inkeles (1969), for example, in his study of data from six countries on what makes men "modern", defines the psychological and social traits of "modern man" as being individualism, secularism, belief in the efficacy of science, technology, and medicine, abandonment of passivity and fatalism, and so on. The western ethnocentric bias in such a definition is fairly obvious: the modern man in the new state is (or ought to be) the personification of the nineteenth-century protestant capitalist. He is a man who gets to work on time, is frugal with his money, and develops civic responsibilities (see Inkeles, p.210). Inkeles and Smith's (1974:18-19) scale of modernity — a scale based on the assumption that it is to the degree which men participate in modern western institutions (especially the factory and the school) that they will develop "modern" attitudes — is basically tautological (B. Foster, 1978:323). Their research is designed around a definition of individual modernity which states that participation in modern western institutions is what makes men "modern". "But", as B. Foster notes, "this is precisely what the authors set out to test — i.e., the degree and the ways in which participation in modern society causes individual modernity". Inkeles and Smith's study also assumes that the social organization of the western nations has produced a generalized and identifiable creature called "modern man". It is doubtful, however, that it can be scientifically proved that there is an internal logic to the system of social organization in the western nations, that induces the same or nearly the same personal qualities in all citizens. There are other criticisms which can be levelled at modernization theories (see Fallers, 1964:117-21; Bendix, 1967; Armer and Schnaiberg, 1972; Tipps, 1973; Portes, 1973; and Godwin, 1974). But the basic criticism of modernization theories is that research which is based on an assumption of a universal response to similar organizational forms, trivializes and obscures the difference in meaning which different cultures may attach to similar structures and forms of social organization (Faller, 1968:564).

From the time of the Enlightenment we have had an image of man as existing beyond or above culture, a belief that there is a human response to the realities of the world which transcends local custom, beliefs, forms of social organization and ideology, that there are universal, unchanging social laws which govern man's behaviour (Nisbet, 1969; Geertz, 1962; 1965). And the search for universal social laws has, if anything, accelerated in recent years. With the advent of mass communication, rapid transport, an interdependent world economy — based primarily on the production of food and the consumption of oil — it is often assumed that man has become even more "universal" in his response to the predicaments of life. But the fact that people have been brought closer together in terms of economy, communication, and access, has served to accentuate their cultural and ideological differences; it certainly has not made man a more "universal being". In today's world, probably as in all other historical periods, man's cultural and ideological diversity is just as important as his similarities.

Clearly, men do similar things in different places and at different points in time: they marry, own property, and hold religious beliefs. The people in nearly all newly independent nations have established universities, created a national airline, and sought a seat within the United Nations General Assembly. But it is only the content of these and various other similar activities which has any meaning, and the content is divergent indeed. And it is because of the diversity of man's empirical social behaviour that we must deny the notion of "empirical universals". As Geertz (1965:101) states:

> There is a logical conflict between asserting that, say, "religion", "marriage", or "property" are empirical universals and giving them very much in the way of specific content, for to say that they are empirical universals is to say that they have the same content, and to say they have the same content is to fly in the face of the undeniable fact that they do not.

The social scientist cannot strip away what is culturally and historically unique in the hope of finding universal regularities in the structure and function of social organization: "men unmodified by the custom of particular places do not in fact exist..." (Geertz, 1965:96).

There are similarities and some close parallels between the establishment of higher and other forms of education in PNG and other new states. There is no reason to believe that the people of PNG cannot draw valuable lessons from the experience which other new nations have had with systems of higher education. And, hopefully, this research will be of interest to other universities in situations both similar to and different from that of UPNG. But analysis must first proceed with an examination of the concrete social events as they have occurred in the PNG environment, not through assuming "empirical universals". It is only after examining the empirical social reality as it exists in particular places that we can draw useful cross-cultural comparisons. My point is not that all comparative perspectives are invalid or that we are unable to make scientific generalizations about the human condition, but that any science, social or otherwise, is to be judged, as Geertz (1965:115) states, "by its power to draw general propositions out of particular phenomena".

On the other hand, case studies have sometimes been judged unreliable, or unable to be used for scientific generalization, just because of their concentration on so-called "unique" social events (see Broom and Selznick, 1963:91-92). The specific constellation of structure and process that is analyzed in the present study is, of course, unique to UPNG. But it is only the specific constellation of structure and process — and the way in which it is analyzed in the present study — that is in any way unique. Each social force taken individually — social structure, conflict, change, and so on — has a worldwide coinage in sociological literature. Each individual concept examined in this study is, in terms of social theory and research, more or less universal.(2) As Becker (1968:236) states:

> The reliability of [a case study]...analysis is sometimes questioned in an equivocal way that plays on the meaning of "reliability". The question is put thus: would another observer produce, with the same analysis, the same total model, were he to

> repeat the study? The answer is of course that he would — but only if he used the same theoretical framework and became interested in the same general problems, for neither the theoretical framework nor the major problem chosen for study is inherent in the group studied.

Certainly, depending on the perspective from which one draws comparisons, there are aspects of the history and development of the UPNG community which are more or less unique. For example, one would not find in Oxford, Cambridge, or Ibadan, the high degree of informality that exists among staff and students at UPNG. The degree to which students are allowed formal participation and informal influence in academic decision-making is probably exceptional when compared with the situation in Australian universities. The degree to which "Arts" and "Science" are both formally and informally separate at UPNG, compared to say new universities in Australia and Britain is probably also an exceptional characteristic of the UPNG community. But these and other factors do not make the object of this study unique. The point is that the present research is not a study of UPNG, but a study of structure and process and institutional/societal interaction as it occurs in UPNG. My intention is not to study these sociological conceptualizations through a survey of a number of universities, but to attempt to understand what significance and meaning can be gained by their examination in one specific institution. Hopefully, the findings of the present study will have some significance for other universities in both similar and highly diverse circumstances. But through the case study methodological framework one does not "generalize across cases" but "generalizes within them" (Geertz, 1973:26). In this study, as will be discussed further in the following section, we attempt to relate specific sociological generalizations to the particular social reality of the UPNG community.

GENERAL LOGIC OF THE CASE STUDY METHOD

There are various methods which the sociologist may adopt in the attempt to understand the complexities of social reality. For example, the researcher may seek sociological understanding of empirical social phenomena through the use of survey data, longitudinal analysis, comparative analysis, small group experimental studies, case studies, and so on. Different methodological frameworks have different aims and place different demands on the researcher. The sociologist interested in a nation-wide survey of social attitudes needs to be concerned with the statistical reliability of the sample. The sociologist who conducts a case study is more concerned with the complexities of the multiple interrelationships which he observes rather than with the "typicality" of his chosen case (though, as we will see in a moment, there is some debate over the latter point).

There is, however, some confusion in the literature over what exactly a case study demands of the researcher and what can and cannot be accomplished by this methodological framework. We need to identify, therefore, the general scientific logic on which the case study method is based, as well as the various strengths and weaknesses of the method and the primary demands which the case study approach places on the researcher. Also, the part played by personal bias in my decision to concentrate on the structure and process of a single institution needs to be made explicit.

One primary aim of a case study is "comprehensive" understanding of observed social phenomena; and it is for this reason, more than any other, that the present research is based on a case study. In order to understand how UPNG has developed over a period of time and what significance its members attach to the Institution's development, I need to construct a holistic picture of the UPNG community. Baldridge (1971a:32) states that "the case study is the classical method of researchers interested in depth of study, for the case study allows many different techniques to be applied in the same situation". And Becker (1968:233) states that:

> ...the case study must be prepared to deal with a great variety of descriptive and theoretical problems. The various phenomena uncovered by the investigator's observations must all be incorporated into his account of the group and then be given theoretical relevance.

Clearly, as Becker notes himself, "comprehensiveness" is an "ideal" which can never be wholly achieved — to understand all there is to know about even a single individual, much less an entire community, is an impossible task. The researcher, while keeping the goal of comprehensiveness in mind, is forced to select only certain aspects of the organization or community for analysis. For example, Baldridge (1971a) in his case study of New York University, concentrates on the politics of decision-making and Gans (1962) in his study of a Boston urban neighbourhood concentrates on class and ethnicity. Nonetheless, the goal of comprehensiveness allows the researcher in the field setting to capitalize on a variety of research techniques, for instance, interviews, participant observation and the study of documents, and to alter the orientation of his study as new knowledge and insights are gained about the community. The "ideal" of comprehensive understanding contained within a case study forces the researcher to consider, "however crudely, the multiple interrelations of the particular phenomena he observes" (Becker, 1968:233).

The construction and rationale for the theoretical framework which is to be employed in the study of the UPNG community is set out in detail in Part II. But it may be worthwhile to mention here how the goal of comprehensive understanding has influenced the way in which I have advanced theoretical propositions.

The main thesis of this study is concerned with the dual question of social conflict and social order. Social conflict exists in all complex, heterogeneous organizations. Nonetheless, an organization requires a degree of social integration and consensus in order to function. The heuristic question I ask in this study is: why does an institution such as UPNG, given the fact that it consists of divergent groups who hold divergent values, norms, and opinions of the institution and who are often engaged in a conflict of interest between themselves and with other groups outside the institution, remain intact? Why do the individuals and groups who make up the UPNG community, despite their conflicting values and interests, coalesce to form a functioning Institution?(3) A comprehensive understanding of the UPNG community requires that both processes, conflict and consensus, be considered.

In order to analyze both conflict and consensus, I construct my theoretical propositions around a theme advanced by van den Berghe (1963:696-97). He argues that "while societies do indeed show a tendency towards stability, equilibrium and consensus, they simultaneously generate within themselves the opposite of these". Such an all-embracing and general proposition can be investigated, I believe, by arguing the dialectical nature of conflict and consensus. This demands a demonstration that specific elements within a social organization — that is, social structure, normative behaviour, symbolic behaviour, political dynamics of decision-making and policy formation, and the maintenance of social order — can *simultaneously* generate conflict/change and consensus/stability.

I believe that by concentrating on the dialectical nature of conflict and consensus I am contributing to sociological theory (a contribution which I will attempt to clarify in Chapter III and elsewhere). But this proposition is also directly related to my attempt to construct a holistic picture of the UPNG community. To describe and analyze only conflict and change within the UPNG community would render only half the story. The holistic picture also needs to take into account those forces which work towards consensus and stability. Whether or not it can be shown that various elements in the UPNG community — that is, its social structure and the normative behaviour of its members — can simultaneously produce conflict and consensus, remains to be seen and any conclusion on this proposition must await the presentation of empirical evidence. Here, my only intention is to indicate how theory and method coincide.

Baldridge (1971a:33) in his own case study of New York University, places a number of restrictions on the method. First, he states that case studies never "prove" anything and that "the real value of a case study is to provoke ideas about a new way of viewing the world, to fill in an idea with vivid detail, or to suggest new perspectives". And in line with his notion about "proof" he sees the problem of "typicality" or "generalization" as one of the major weaknesses of the method. He states (p.32) that:

> In a case study...there is no assurance that the organization chosen for study is representative of other similar organizations. In fact, it may be unique. There is really no way to get around this problem beyond reasonable care in the selection of the case, and even then one must live with the insecurity that the results might be empirical freaks...

But the problem of "typicality" in a case study is a "red herring". Of course, New York University is not "typical" of other American universities or of the western university in general. A case study cannot be used as a "microcosm" which explicates the social reality of larger units — be they nations or university systems. Baldridge is not studying the American university system in its entirety, he is studying the politics of decision-making in New York University. I am not studying the western university system in the new state. I attempt to understand certain sociological processes by studying them in UPNG.

Baldridge also apologizes for concentrating on what may be historically unique. But, as was emphasized above, scientific generalizations and comparisons, if they are to avoid becoming mere theoretical rarefications, need to ultimately relate to the concrete social events of specific local situations. By definition, every case is unique. This is the basic point of conducting a case study: to relate what is supposedly universal and generalizable in theory to the empirical reality of concrete situations. To once again quote Nisbet (1969:303-4):

> Generalization is beyond question what we seek from the empirical and concrete. But it is generalization *from* the empirical, the concrete, and the historical; not generalization achieved through their dismissal... Whatever the demands of a social theory, the first demands to be served are those of the social reality we find alone in the historical record.

The case study method can be used for two basic purposes: one, to generate theory and two, to test established theory (cf. Merton, 1968:147, Becker, 1968:231, and Geertz, 1973:26, on the use of the case study for the generation of theory). Baldridge is using the method in order to generate theory, and in this respect he is quite correct when he says that case studies never "prove" anything and that "in the history of organization theory entirely too many presumptuous claims have been made for theories on the basis of a single case study..." (1971:33). In fact, a large amount of comparative data needs to be processed before we can even begin to suggest the universality of specific scientific propositions. But it only takes one case to diverge from theoretical prediction to suggest that specific propositions cannot be generalized to all situations. A case study can be used as the sociologist's approximation of the scientific experiment. The present research is a test of past theories on the structure and function of the university organization; I will take a body of mainstream sociological theory and test it against the social reality of the UPNG community. In the process, I hope to show where theory may require modification or perhaps rejection. My aim is to test past theories, not to specifically generate new conceptualizations — though suggestions for new ways of viewing the structure and process of the university organization may emerge from the study. In the very process of questioning the validity of established propositions we lay the foundation for the development of new or more refined theories.

To treat the case study method as a sociological experiment is not to treat the locality of study as "the sociological equivalent of a cloud chamber" (Geertz, 1973:23). Geertz states that microscopic studies cannot treat specific local areas as "natural laboratories". This is quite true, they are not natural laboratories, but sociological cases. Geertz, as previously noted, is insistent that social theory, while necessarily permitting generalization, must relate to particular phenomena. What better way to test whether or not specific social theories are universally applicable than through testing them against the concrete social events of one particular locality?

Clearly, one case, one divergent empirical observation, does not provide irrefutable evidence that a specific theory needs to be rejected or modified. Seldom, if ever, does science work in this way. Observations which are contrary to theoretical predictions merely serve to *suggest* that one theory *may* require modification or replacement by another theory with greater explanatory power (cf. Kuhn, 1970, Chalmers, 1978, and Popper, 1969, on the subject of scientific refutation). For example, our observations, not the theory, may be what are in question. And in a case study, the evidence which is reported to either support or reject specific propositions is more likely to be "illustrative" than "statistically documentary", or in Merton's (1968:147-8) terms, more likely to be "plausible" than "compelling" evidence (Gans, 1962:347). All science proceeds in a cautious, hesitant, and sceptical manner. But nevertheless scientific advancement is made not only through numerous confrontations of specific theories, but also through showing where established theory loses its power of prediction and needs to be transcended by new perspectives.

When I arrived at UPNG to commence the fieldwork, I brought with me certain preconceived notions on how a new university in a new state would function. Specifically, through a reading of the literature I believed that the events which I would observe at UPNG could probably be best explained through the use of the political theories developed by Baldridge (1971a) in the United States and van den Berghe (1973) in Nigeria. But after only a few months of intensive observation it became obvious that these and other theories only partially explained what was occurring at the University. What became apparent was that past theories on the function of the university organization were drawn from an examination of universities with hierarchical structures and that they did not entirely fit the more egalitarian patterns which existed at UPNG.

It was this realization which convinced me that UPNG was well suited for a test of established theory on the structure and process of the university organization against the reality of a new university in a Melanesian environment.

We are now in a position to summarize the basic scientific logic and requirements of the case study method. One primary requirement of the method is that the researcher should attempt to generate a holistic picture of the community under observation. This means that the researcher must draw upon a number of theoretical perspectives in order to examine the complexities of the multiple interrelationships which he observes. One weakness of the method is that research does not commence with a narrow set of statistically verifiable hypotheses, and another is that the evidence reported is more likely to be "illustrative" than "statistically documentary". The method can be used for two scientific purposes: to generate or to test theory. This study is designed to test a body of mainstream sociological theory against the reality of a new university in a Melanesian environment. The "typicality" of the case chosen for study is, in a general sense, irrelevant. Case studies cannot be used to capture the essence and all of the complexities of larger social units. And more to the point, the locality of study is not the object of study.

I have, in the terms of the canons of my discipline, stated why and how the case study methodological framework is employed in the present research. Nevertheless, I am also making a value judgement by choosing this method over alternative ones. I am expressing a personal bias by forsaking a strict comparative analysis in favour of a study based on the "thrill" of depth field research. It is a value judgement to believe that it is worthwhile to illustrate and test theory with data garnered from intense observation of the concrete activities of people in one specific community. Further, it is a personal bias to believe that this approach is better suited to the study of certain aspects of the functioning of higher education in a new state than, for example, a study which commences with falsifiable hypotheses that can be statistically manipulated in terms of data collected from a random sample. A case study is a [illegible] method, and it is also my [illegible] personal experience. As [illegible] ([illegible]) argues:

> [illegible] brings the [illegible] out to the field with the [illegible] and [illegible] of the real situation [illegible] the [illegible] in the [illegible]. The importance of the "[illegible]" in the [illegible] cannot be [illegible] and anyone who has done field work knows that it is a vital part of the [illegible] experience.

An [illegible] of the [illegible] research techniques used is given, then, the [illegible].

Research Techniques

Throughout the year of 1977 the field research for this study was conducted at the University of Papua New Guinea.

UPNG is well situated for a case study. The University is located in Waigani, some seven miles from Port Moresby, a city with a population of approximately [illegible] thousand, [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Though the [illegible] [illegible] of Port Moresby [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] area, the [illegible] still remains [illegible] from the city. Almost all students live on campus and the majority of the students and administrative staff live on a housing estate which partially encircles the University. Many of the labourers also, as well as single Papua New Guinean secretaries and clerks, live in dormitory-type accommodation on the housing estate. (The University operates a Faculty of Medicine located near the Port Moresby hospital, some five miles from the main campus, and an affiliated Teachers College at Goroka, in the Highlands. Neither appendage was investigated with the same intensity as that applied to the main campus).

Three basic techniques were used for collecting information:

a) Participant Observation. For research of this nature to be successful, the investigator needs community acceptance. In terms of the acceptance of the field research conducted at UPNG, timing was an important factor. The establishment period of the University was nearing completion, the country was approaching independence and the University was contemplating the appointment of its first Papua New Guinean Vice-Chancellor. Members of the University community were prepared to look introspectively at themselves and at the development of the institution.

Much of the data for this research was collected informally. Attendance at numerous dinner parties, seminars, book launchings, staff-student parties, semi-formal mu-muus, and a variety of other events provided a great deal of information on the University community. Field notes were recorded as soon after the events as possible. Because I was not an official member of the University, the participant nature of the research and my de facto membership of the community under observation lay primarily in the social sphere.

Initially I was cautioned by several sources as to the acceptance of the research by Papua New Guinean students. In PNG as elsewhere, the western social scientist and his research role has become somewhat suspect to the groups (societies) under observation. I resided in the student dormitories and ate at the student dining-hall, both experiences of a rather arduous nature. Institutional food is never the gourmet's delight, but all the complaints made by UPNG students about the "daily mush" were well justified. In fact, one of the initial issues involved in an important student strike was the quality of the food and its poor preparation. The dormitories, walled on two sides by fly screen and louvres in order to catch the breeze essential for any degree of comfort in a tropical climate, allowed the most subdued conversations from one's neighbours to float in. This, along with the quite volatile interactions among the students in the housing areas, made for, at times, a rather disquietening retreat.

But these factors in no way hindered the gathering of information. The UPNG student, though at times shy, is most hospitable and kind. On arrival I explained to my neighbours the purpose of the visit. A remarkable event occurred that evening. A group of students arrived, armed with a case of beer — the national drink — and commenced to make me feel at home and to explain their views and opinions of the University. This cordiality between myself and students existed throughout the stay. Information was recorded through formal interviews with students, and field notes were collected from attendance at student social functions, religious services, visits to the University Club and other bars, the gruelling seven mile trip by public transport into Port Moresby, student dances, sporting events, and a variety of other activities associated with the day-to-day life of students. If the researcher has missed the Papua New Guinean students' perspective of the University, it was not through a withholding of information but through my own ineptitude.

On a more formal level, I spent numerous hours as an observer of University committees. University Council was the only committee within the University to which I was denied access. Even so, I was free to interview its members and have access to the minutes and agenda of their meetings.

After surveying the numerous committees within the University, I became a regular attendant at the meetings of those committees central to the research. The committees which I regularly attended were Academic Board and its various sub-committees, faculty committees along with their key sub-committees, certain departmental committee meetings, a committee concerned with the formation of an Arts Foundation Year, localization review committees, and other special committee meetings that arose, for instance, the Financial Review Committee meetings between University and government on budgetary matters. During the committee meetings my role was strictly one of observer.

The last major form of observation was conducted in the classroom. The student/teacher relationship within the classroom setting was observed as often as possible. On a few occasions I presented brief lectures and demonstrations to a class of preliminary students, at the request of the tutor. Also, throughout one semester I sat in on a first-year course, including all lectures and tutorials.

b) Interviews and the Collection of Verbal Information. Numerous individuals contributed verbal information to this study. Some interviews were formal, highly structured, and based on set subjects. Other interviews were very informal and of a more conversational nature. The University's Staff-Student Club became a prime source for verbal information. On any given evening, except when the refrigerator had broken down, a large cross-section of University members could be found in the Club. Here, events of the day, opinions, attitudes, and biases were discussed. Even though a large portion of this information was in the form of "gossip", it is a sociological axiom that the opinions and beliefs of a community constitute a large portion of the community's social reality.

A section of the community had been involved with the University for a number of years, some since its conception. A few of these people served as key informants, questioned on issues both past and present. After a few months of information gathering, a network of informants began to develop. Those most active in the University's affairs or in key positions within the formal structure, tended to dominate this network. However, since these were people closest to the issues and most involved in the decision-making process, they could provide the most useful information.

Informants were not restricted to University membership. Graduates, politicians, and government officials served as very useful sources of information. Also, past members of staff were interviewed, such as the first Vice-Chancellor.

Not all of the information was gathered in PNG. Some documents and people intimately involved with the foundation of the University were located in Australia. During the year of 1976, these sources of information were consulted within the limits of time and finance.

c) The Collection of Written Information. When not attending a social function of one form or another, conducting formal interviews, observing committee meetings or chatting with staff and students, I spent many hours sifting through the information contained in University records and documents. The main University archives were located in the Administration building while a few important documents were contained in the University Library's New Guinea Collection.

For the purpose of this research, I was granted access to all pertinent documents and files. The main written sources were published pamphlets, articles, reports from various commissions of inquiry, the University Calendar, University newsletters (both official and underground), the minutes and agenda from a multitude of committee meetings of various types, speeches delivered at formal gatherings, reports of external examiners, correspondence and open letters, memoranda, admission records, financial reports, newspaper clippings, ad infinitum.

NOTES

1. A case study is an "intellectual approach" to the subject matter, not, strictly speaking, a "method" which usually denotes the mechanics of data gathering. But for the most part, the literature on case studies discussed in this Chapter loosely refers to it as a "method" and refers to the mechanics of data gathering, that is, participant observation and interviews, as research techniques. For the sake of consistency, we will also refer to a case study as a method.
2. There is a considerable difference between stating that sociologists operating in a variety of cultures have studied social structure, and stating that people in different cultures attach the same meaning to similar structural forms.
3. This may seem a naive question: the political scientist, for example, would simply reply that UPNG continues to exist because government is committed to training an educated elite, meaning that there is a consensus amongst the "powers that be" that UPNG should survive. But such an answer provides only a partial explanation of how and why social order is maintained within the University. It does not explain why, despite the significance and ubiquity of conflict, the institution continues to function; it neither explains the dynamics of the University's structure nor the relationship of the internal structure with external forces; it does not explain what mechanisms are employed for the resolution of special conflict or why conflict does not necessarily lead to the institution's demise; and it does not explain change within the University.

CHAPTER II

IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR ISSUES: ADAPTATION, CHANGE AND CONFLICT

In the period from 1960 to the end of 1975, the peoples of PNG have seen a rush towards development and nationhood paralleled in few countries. It is remarkable that Australia was able to provide, with such ease and speed, the western institutions which are at least the outward symbols of a functioning state. Lacking a precolonial tradition of extended political authority, the peoples of PNG became unusually dependent upon rapidly introduced western institutions for a sense of national unity and identity.

In Africa, as Barnes (1960:135) observes, some of the indigenous societies were "primitive states"; the peoples of PNG were largely stateless agriculturalists, with no system of centralized authority or powerful hereditary chiefs. Before European contact, a man in most Papua New Guinean societies rose to a position of power and influence mainly through his own initiative and ability. He could not depend on lineage or other centralized group authority structures to ensure for himself a leadership role. Rather, each man who aspired to a position of influence had to start afresh and build effective political ties in his own lifetime (see Barnes, 1962:7-8). Administrations in Africa channelled policies through existing chiefs, created chieftainships where none existed before, and established constitutional monarchies. In contrast, the Australian Administration did not find or create any chieftainships in PNG (Barnes, 1960:145).

By the end of the 1950s, many of the colonial territories in Africa had either received political independence or were actively campaigning for it. The indigenous societies often had their own systems of social stratification and centralized authority and these were used by the colonial power to effect administrative control. But the move towards urbanization, a modern economy, and eventual independence introduced new social structures. The new structures either competed with or supplanted the previous indigenous systems of social organization, especially at the national level.

Even up to 1960, the creation of a "new social order" for PNG was a distant goal for the Australian Administration. Moreover, there was no indigenous political activity at a national level; and unlike many of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, there was no organized and popularly supported aggressive campaign for independence by the indigenous peoples.

For reasons to be discussed in Chapter VI, the priorities of the Australian Administration changed rapidly after 1960, with the Administration holding national elections in 1964 for the first Papua and New Guinea House of Assembly. The following words from the *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea* (1964:1; known as the Currie Commission) are indicative of the general level of development at the time of the first national elections:

> It is highly disturbing to have to admit that, at this fairly advanced stage of political evolution, the intellectual evolution (in modern terms) of the indigenous people is so little advanced that they have as yet no university graduates, while those with a full secondary education are very few.

Once the Australian Administration recognized that independence for PNG was not some far off goal, certain institutions, such as the University, became extremely important in the establishment of a national political and social identity. They also served as important symbols of Australia's response to international pressure to develop her Territories.

Barnes (1960:146) suggests that stateless peoples adjust to major political change more rapidly and "easily than those who have belonged to primitive states; new leaders, trade union presidents, bishops, priests, and congress chairmen, can emerge without exciting opposition from the older hierarchy of paramount chiefs..." This, coupled with the largely paternalistic nature of the Australian Administration, may be one reason for the relatively "unaggressive" nature of decolonization in PNG.

On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to instill in a people who have never experienced even the structure and centralized authority of "primitive states", the notion of a national political unit. It is even more difficult not to encourage extended political and social structures for most of the colonial period and then build a viable indigenous polity in a mere fifteen years. The western institutions rapidly established in PNG by Australia have not supplanted "primitive states", but introduced extended political, economic, and social structures where none existed. This has created a two-fold problem for the social and political leaders of an independent PNG: they must manage and co-ordinate the affairs of highly diverse peoples through the structure of foreign institutions which have themselves little meaning to the average Papua New Guinean villager.

MAJOR ISSUES: ADAPTATION, CHANGE, AND CONFLICT

The social context encompassed by UPNG is no less complex, pluralistic, interesting, and difficult to understand, than is its host-society. Almost all the academic staff are expatriates, and of these the majority are Europeans. Also, the administrative staff have been predominantly expatriate until very recently. At present, the majority of students are Papua New Guinean, though in the past numerous expatriates living in Port Moresby enrolled as part-time students. Among indigenous staff there are divisions with regard to ethnicity,(1) sex, kinship, locality (home districts), language, degree of education, and level of employment. Among Papua New Guinean students there are divisions with regard to ethnicity, sex, kinship, locality, school background, academic orientations, and religion, to name but a few. The expatriate community displays social divisions in terms of profession, nationality, sex, religion, academic discipline, and faculty, race (to a very limited extent), academic training, and in a host of idiosyncratic living habits that become very important to a group of people residing in close proximity, somewhat isolated from the rest of society.

Obviously, even within the confines of the University community, the number of interesting issues and processes which could be examined is immense. Ideally, the researcher who conducts a case study attempts to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the community under observation. But, through necessity, analysis must be limited to a few specific issues.

There are three major issues involved in this research. The first is adaptation. Adaptation of organizational systems, to both internal and external environmental requirements, is an important topic to the sociologist interested in new universities in new states. The ability of an educational institution set in a new society to be flexible and prepared to change and adapt is, it would seem, crucial. However, an institution's structure, once created, may be difficult to change, and groups who are the beneficiaries of certain adaptations may resist the process, having come to value the institution as it is. Hanson (1968), for example, in the study of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka campus, observes that once Nsukka became an institution prized by the modern Ibo, it became very difficult to change its structure. More generally, Curle (1963) notes that the university is a symbol of the civilization to which the peoples of a new nation aspire (see also Bell, 1964; Moskos, 1967; and Mau, 1968). The university is valued for its own sake and, as Curle (p.87) terms it, "deinstitutionalizing" the university so as to make it more relevant to the society in which it is placed, is often met with resistance.

The adaptation of the university to its environment has often been studied, with good reason, in terms of "foreign irrelevancies". In India lies one unfortunate example of the damage to a society that an irrelevant higher educational system can perpetuate. The British colonial government saw two functions for the Indian university, "to provide a list of eligibility for government employment, and to transmit an alien culture" (Ashby, 1966:63). The emphasis on the university examination, an ever-increasing number of educated unemployed, the aping of British institutional forms, all have led the Indian university away from a purposeful interaction with Indian culture and society. It has also been pointed out that the Indian environment was quite conducive to the type of higher education sponsored by the British.

The development of the Indian academic profession constitutes a "tradition of subordination" (I. Gilbert, 1972). According to Shils (1968a:154-5), the Indian academic is on the periphery of both the "world community of scholars" and the immediate social problems of Indian society. In the face of excessive control of higher education by government, and the volatile and sometimes irrational protests of students, the Indian academic has not been able to participate in either the protection of his own academy or the critical examination of Indian society and government practice. Recently, members of academic staff at UPNG have also found it difficult to act meaningfully when faced with student protest. Critical dialogue between members of the academic community and the national government has been curtailed and government bureaucratic control of the University is increasing. But the similarities between the difficulties faced by staff at UPNG and academics at Indian universities are mainly superficial. And the problems experienced by UPNG arise from historical circumstance that diverge significantly from the Indian experience.

Ashby (1966), Shils (1968a; 1969) and I. Gilbert (1972) indicate that the Indian university went wrong from the very beginning. The constitutional structure which was introduced for the Indian university by the British was inappropriate in that it emphasized the maintenance of standards through the affiliation of university colleges with a parent organization. With the rapid expansion of higher education in India, the goal of maintaining standards was lost sight of as numerous colleges rushed for affiliation (Shils, 1968a:154). UPNG was established as an autonomous institution, and during its early years of development members fiercely protected the University's autonomy and its standards.

Shils (1968a:155) states that problems for the Indian university have arisen because the "Indianization" of the syllabus occurred too late and the indigenization of academic positions occurred too early (cf. Ashby, 1966 and Fafunwa, 1971:4-5, in relation to the African experience). At UPNG the majority of the academics are expatriate and it is their foreign nationality which is one of the contributing factors to the uncertainty of the relationship between UPNG academics, Papua New Guinean students, and the local society in general. Many members believe that several of the problems currently faced by the University could be alleviated if only more Papua New Guineans could be recruited into academic positions.

With regard to the development of the curriculum, and the academic structure through which it is presented to students, members of the UPNG community have not been insensitive to the PNG environment. Soul searching and a good deal of conflict has occurred at UPNG over the appropriateness of the curriculum and how it should be presented. But unlike the situation in India and several African countries, teaching at UPNG did not commence with the notion that the very same syllabus taught at universities in the metropolis was the only form of knowledge eligible for university status.

The introduction of "irrelevant" foreign models of higher education into new nations has not only been the province of external sponsors, but has also, in some cases, been actively supported by internal interests. In various places it has been noted that the African elite, initially receiving higher education abroad, played a significant role in African nationalism. But once this elite took responsibility for African universities they became, as Ashby points out, "the most reactionary in resisting adaptation of university systems to the needs and economic capacities of their homeland" (1966:*xi*). In fact, any adaptation of the foreign model was viewed as racial discrimination and patronizing, as van den Berghe (1973:20) writes with regard to the Nigerian situation:

> The Nigerian intelligentsia interpreted almost any attempt to deviate from the British model as a "lowering of standards" motivated by the alleged British belief that Africans were intellectually incapable of benefiting from the best that Britain had to offer. The modern Nigerian elite were thus quite adamant that the best was barely good enough for Nigeria, and the best meant Oxbridge, complete with its study of classical Greek and Latin.

Duff (1966:42) makes a similar comment with regard to the Asquith and Elliot Commissions on Higher Education in Africa: "There were no Africans on the Asquith Commission but there were three on the Elliot Commission, and in their minds 'indigenous' meant 'inferior'. They would have none of it".

In the light of the problems created by foreign models elsewhere and with regard to the following statement by the first Vice-Chancellor of UPNG that: "in 1963 the Currie Commission recommended for PNG a traditional British (Australian) University, and the Council with a heavy representation of Australian academics, created the same",(2) it is tempting to equate the introduction of higher education in PNG with that achieved in other new nations.(3) However, PNG does not share a common history with Africa, India, and other developing countries that have had an indigenous elite of long standing, often selected and trained by the colonial power. The initial volatility of the University's role and structure is, in part, due to the lack of any academic tradition in PNG; it is not precipitated by the entrenchment of foreign standards of higher education among the local elite. In formalizing a structure and choosing a model for the University, there was a dearth of academic tradition in the country to serve, on the one hand, as a standard, and on the other, as a demand.

In looking at the processes of adaptation as stated in Chapter I, we must assess what educational forms and structures are being adjusted to meet what needs and interests in the particular environment. The mere novelty and continuing change of the modern economic sector in PNG has meant that the needs of the society are constantly being respecified. In the study of the adaptation of the UPNG community to its environment we cannot make any ***objective assessment*** as to the relevance or appropriateness of curriculum, teaching methods, or university structure. Rather, this process must be studied in terms of the definitions which members of the University and the community at large attach to the educational needs of the society, and the manner in which individuals and groups attempt to adjust the structure of the university to meet the requirements of their definitions. A study could be devoted to merely examining the numerous changes in legal statutes that have occurred at UPNG through members defining and redefining educational relevance. However, we also need to be aware of the fact that outward structural change may mask the rigidity and stability of a residual core: *Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose.*

The study of certain aspects of change is the second objective of this research. Several studies have been interested in the general question of organizational change and environmental influences. While some stress that change factors are endogenous in origin, that is, arising from the organization's internal environment, others focus on exogenous change factors, that is, factors for change arising from the larger social setting. We will discuss these "types" of change more thoroughly in Chapter IV. Here we are more interested in another aspect of organizational change, that is, "the environment has to adapt to the organization" (Perrow, 1972:203). Van den Berghe (1973:267) in his concluding remarks on the nature of structural change within Ibadan University states that:

> The relative lack of adaptability of the University to the country has been coupled by a considerable adaptation of the country to the kind of social system that the University helped create.

By itself, van den Berghe's observation is an obvious one, for the purpose behind the foundation of a university in a newly independent nation is to help create a new social order. And, in this sense, universities are necessarily elitist institutions. They train the personnel to manage the new social order (P. Foster, 1975a). The Australian government established UPNG to train an educated elite. As this elite grows in size, power, and influence, naturally the society will adjust to the forms of social organization which the University has helped to produce and develop. What needs to be examined is the dynamics behind the creation of a new society and the role played by university education, as well as the restrictions placed on the university's influence and effectiveness once the new social order commences to take shape.

As mentioned, one of the primary ways universities help to create a new social order is by providing trained manpower so that indigenous peoples can occupy the positions which were previously the province of colonial administrators and other expatriates. The first wave of educated indigenous people is able to find immediate employment in the civil service as well as in other fields where vacancies are left by a withdrawing colonial power. However, if economic growth cannot keep pace with educational growth, these initial positions will soon be filled. With each generation there will be more, and possibly better educated members of the society aspiring to the positions for which they have been trained. If there is not a rapidly expanding job market, the university graduate will find many of the avenues for employment closed. The structural strains which this phenomenon places on the institutions involved, have various political overtones. Those in power may feel challenged by waves of younger, highly educated generations aspiring to their positions. Coleman (1965:358) notes that a reaction by those holding positions of power may be the development of anti-intellectual attitudes.

On the other hand, a class of people with a high degree of skill and social aspirations, but with little hope of putting their talent to work or fulfilling their dreams, may form the basis for anomic frustration. Shils (1965a:195-234) sees student protest activity as an outlet for frustration over what he terms "vocational prospectlessness". Emmerson (1968:410) notes that bleak employment opportunities foster resentment by the student towards the university and his environment.

It would be a gross simplification though to view student political movements only in the light of employment opportunities. For example, Buarque (1973:346) states with regard to Brazilian students that: "The protest of university students has been prompted by a realization of a profound contradiction between the opportunities for employment offered by the contemporary social structure and the real need for a more human structure, rather than by a conflict between such opportunities and individual vocations".

Nonetheless, only now in PNG is the pinch between the supply and demand of employment opportunities and educational qualifications being felt. The government is acutely aware of this, and holds great faith in its manpower projections as a device to avoid problems which have arisen in other new nations. But the government's philosophy is not shared by all, especially not by some members of the staff and students of the University. This has led both government and University to ask the question: education for what? However, each has arrived at a slightly different answer, which has produced a degree of strain both within the University and between the University and government. As the University fulfills one of its major initial goals, to provide the indigenous manpower for top echelon positions in the civil service, there is some question as to what its future priorities should be. Part of our analysis of the UPNG community focuses on this debate and the divergent solutions provided by various groups within and outside the University.

One can argue, as van den Berghe (1973:265) does, that replacement of a colonial administration with indigenous personnel does not constitute true change:

> It is interesting to note...that both at the "national" and at the University levels, "independence" has been characterized primarily by a change of citizenship in the top echelon personnel rather than by fundamental changes in the structure of institutions. Independence in Nigeria, as in most of post-colonial Africa, has resulted in little more than "circulation of elites".

However, the creation of an indigenous elite to manage the post-colonial affairs of a new nation is the first necessity if any significant change is to be achieved. The characteristics of this elite and both what they can do and choose to do with inherited institutional structures, is another matter.

The creation of an indigenous "elite to govern" is an inevitable process: it is part and parcel of decolonization and the establishment of a national character and identity. But when elite status is gained through imported systems of education, the situation forms the basis for conflict on several levels. The analysis of conflict is the third basic aim of this case study, and forms an integral part of the theoretical framework to be outlined in Part II. On the broad level, we are interested in the impact of a foreign system of higher education on indigenous students and conflict which surrounds the indigenization (or localization as it is called in PNG) process.

A system of education, along with providing a society with skilled manpower, socializes those it trains into accepting certain attitudes and values (see Clignet, 1971). Mannoni (in Ashby, 1964b: 100) in his study of the impact of western civilisation on the African personality, points out that:

> An education confined to providing the colonial inhabitant with new tools could be very useful if it left the personality as a whole untouched and had no direct cultural impact, but culturally biased education can disrupt the personality far more than one would expect.

The university in the newly independent nation not only disrupts personality, but offers to one segment of the population the benefits of a high degree of training which serves to broaden the gap between that segment and the society at large. In Africa, the creation of a new, educated social stratum provided its members with powers and privileges unknown in the context of pre-colonial forms of social organization (Coleman, 1960).

In PNG, politicians, as well as educators, have been conscious of the elite status conferred upon students, especially those at the University. The government maintains students in a position of relative affluence compared to their fellow countrymen. Politicians, educators, missionaries, and families indoctrinate students with the belief and expectation that they are to be the new leaders of the country and it is upon their shoulders that the future of PNG rests. But in the next breath, the student is reminded that he is to develop anti-elitist attitudes and is to serve his less fortunate countrymen back in the village. This has served to create some tension within the student's personality.

The students are themselves conscious of their special position within PNG society and many of them make at least a verbal commitment to rural development and the less fortunate in their society. Even so, this relieves little of the tension. Their position, along with many of the problems they and their countrymen face in general, isolates students from the predominantly expatriate academic community. Such factors as ethnicity and kinship generate rivalry and antagonism within the student community. Cultural background is often a source of tension and conflict in terms of student participation in a western system of higher education. These and other factors will be examined in the case study.

All newly independent nations must come to terms with processes of indigenization and establishment of a national culture and identity.(4) With self-government in 1973 and independence in 1975, localization and the establishment of national unity are two of PNG's chief priorities. In the establishment of a national political and social unit, people bonded to specific sections of a society are asked to forgo local ties in the interest of the nation (Curle, 1973:27-9). This often creates conflict between sectional and national interests. Eisenstadt (1966:15-22) argues that the initial establishment of a new society or polity is an ideological, totalistic movement for the fusing of diverse values and goals. The mere collecting together of individuals and groups with diverse values, orientations, and interests, serves to increase their awareness of each other's differences which, in turn, may intensify conflict. The effectiveness of PNG's major institutions depends on the co-operation of people with divergent and sometimes conflicting cultural backgrounds, values, norms, and interests.

As the expatriate departs PNG and the Australian colonial administration becomes a thing of the past, a change in top echelon personnel, from expatriate to Papua New Guinean is occurring in all the major institutions. This has caused the Papua New Guinean member of staff at UPNG to be a highly mobile individual within the University's formal structure, especially within the administrative branch. Localization policies have pushed the indigenous member forward in the organization at an accelerated pace. Yet because the expansion of the educational system in PNG is such a recent phenomenon, and because of the high demand for university graduates in other sectors of the society, the list of qualified Papua New Guinean candidates for university positions is short. This has imposed a variety of pressures upon the indigenous member who moves up within the University's structure. On the one hand, the incumbent is pushed forward in his role often before he personally feels ready to assume the duties required of the position. In most cases, the local incumbent will be the first Papua New Guinean to ever hold such a position. The pressures to succeed are intense. On the other hand, some of the older, more experienced expatriate members hold some resentment towards younger, less qualified (in terms of foreign standards) Papua New Guineans who rapidly move up in the organization. Within certain sections of the expatriate University community there are expectations for the Papua New Guinean to fail in his role.

Localization creates conflict in the University in various ways. The "fusing together" of people with diverse cultures, values, and goals is one important source of conflict, as is the pressure placed on indigenous members of staff to succeed in their roles. Other points of conflict, and possibly the more significant ones, arise out of the organization's formal structure. These and other aspects of the localization process will be emphasized in the case study.

The above interests structure the analysis of the UPNG community on the macro-level. But they are themselves articulated by a specific theoretical framework. The framework, outlined in

Part II, is used as a tool for examining certain details of the University's structure and actions of the men and women who constitute the UPNG community. The focus is on organizational problems, such as social order, policy formation, decision-making procedures, structure, and internal politics.

NOTES

1. The word "ethnicity", rather than "tribalism" is used for several reasons: (1) it is the more neutral of the two terms; (2) tribalism implies a preliterate "type" of social organization, based on laws, status rights, and chieftainships (Hunter and Whitten, 1976:393), which is not, in general, applicable to PNG; and (3) tribalism has a more exact meaning in the African than in the Papua New Guinean context. "Ethnic group", according to Hunter and Whitten (p. 146), "refers to any group of people within a larger cultural unit who identify themselves as a distinct entity, separate from the rest of that culture". When ethnicity is said to operate within the University, it is in this sense that the term is used.
2. Dr J.T. Gunther to Mr R. Dodson, Director, American Council on Education, 21 March 1972, Yellow Files, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
3. On one level of generalization, a university is a recognizably discrete type of institution, whatever the country of location. It would be quite surprising, and probably false, if similarities in structure, character, power struggles, social values, and the like could not be drawn between UPNG and other universities, both in the industrialized and new nations. It is doubtful if any experienced academic, whatever the country of national origin, would not be familiar with the processes described by van den Berghe in Academic Gamesmanship or not be able to recognize the characters in C.P. Snow's The Masters.
4. Cultural activity, external to a university, may also have an impact upon the institution in a slightly different sense from that discussed in the text. Shils (1969b, and elsewhere) sees the establishment of true intellectual ability in a society as focusing not only on education but on cultural activity external to education. In PNG the Institute of PNG Studies (the major, and possibly the only, institution in the country devoted primarily to supporting the arts) has done much to sponsor and direct PNG writers, actors, performers, and so on, and thus to plant the seeds for development of a national culture. But the Institute is itself a western-type institution, directing cultural activity in rather precise ways. The intellectual milieu in PNG has yet to reach the point, as in modern nationalistic states, where spontaneous cultural activity (in the western sense) is generated by the people themselves. Nor, in such a new nation where problems of economic development are paramount, could one expect this to be other than the case. The situation is problematic in the sense that it is left to the staff and students of the University to justify higher education as fulfilling anything other than economic needs.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION TO PART II

In this brief introductory Chapter we will discuss the notion that there is a dialectical nature to conflict and consensus. There is nothing new about this idea. Numerous authors have shown that social conflict can serve as a force for stability, and that consensus on certain issues or at certain points in time, can create conflicts over other issues or at later points in time. In Chapter IV, the dialectical nature of conflict and consensus will be applied to the construction of the theoretical framework which will be used to interpret the history and development of the UPNG community. But first, it may be worthwhile to trace the sociological understanding of consensus and conflict to their various theoretical sources.

One of the primary concerns for the discipline of sociology is to discover which social forces create and maintain social order. Functional ("structural-functionalism") theory is a regnant paradigm of contemporary sociological analysis, and it is explicitly concerned with problems of order. The theory treats society as a unified social system, and predicts that social order is maintained by internalized norms and value systems. The functionalist approach, while able to explain some aspects of order, encounters grave difficulty when faced with problems of dramatic or revolutionary social change. Its proponents have not, for the most part, been able to handle the notion of social conflict without classifying it merely as deviant behaviour.

Anyone who has experienced life within a major organization soon learns that change can be dramatic and that conflict among the individuals and groups within the organization is not deviant behaviour, but that it is the order of the day. Hence, the sociologist who analyzes the university as a complex organization requires a theoretical frame of reference which can simultaneously handle problems of social order and change and conflict. A valuable suggestion for such a frame of reference has been made by van den Berghe (1963).

Van den Berghe examines the differences between functionalism and the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic — another regnant paradigm of modern sociology. While there are important differences between the two frameworks and short-comings inherent in both, he contends that a useful synthesis of the two can be made.

A critique of functionalism needs to commence with its two basic postulates: social consensus and dynamic equilibrium. Consensus is an important factor for social integration. Nevertheless, societies support a great deal of dissension and conflict. The functionalist notion that value consensus and its integration into the personalities of individuals is a prerequisite for a social system, does not stand up to empirical social reality (Silverman, 1970; Dahrendorf, 1959; Edel, 1964; Mészáros, 1972; and Shaw, 1972). A society may contain many different and often conflicting sets of norms and values.

Van den Berghe (1963:697) makes the important distinction between consensus and dynamic equilibrium, "the real logical cornerstone of the 'structure-function' approach". The equilibrium model cannot be dismissed out of hand, for the existence of any pluralistic organization or community depends on a minimal amount of balance between competing groups. But while equilibrium among the sub-systems or groups within an organization may exist, far too much attention is paid to their integration, especially in terms of efficiency (see the discussion on structure in Chapter IV, below). "Social systems can, for long periods, go through a vicious circle of ever deepening malintegration" (ibid.).

In formulating a more adequate view of social reality, attention is turned to an examination of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic. The assumption that the dialectical process is the only source of change is rejected by van den Berghe. But two general elements of the framework should be retained (1963:699):

> 1) Change is not only ubiquitous, but an important share of it is generated within the system, i.e., the social structure must be looked at, not only as the static framework of society, but also as the source of a crucial type of change.(1)
>
> 2) Change of intra-systemic or endogenous origin often arises from contradiction and conflict between two or more opposing factors. These "factors" can be values, ideologies, roles, institutions or groups.

Interestingly, van den Berghe achieves synthesis of the two theories on the points where they seem most opposed. First, both theories are holistic and take the view that society consists of interrelated parts. However, both perspectives over-stress the notion and degree of interrelation. A more sophisticated view is of society as holistic, but simultaneously able to support elements which can "simply coexist without being significantly complementary, interdependent or in opposition to one another" (1963:702).

The second level of integration of the two theories is concerned with the dialectical nature of both consensus and conflict. For functionalism, consensus is not just a stabilising force, but also a disruptive one. Whereas conflict, in relation to Marxist theory, can sponsor unity.

Many authors have regarded conflict as not necessarily being disruptive to a social system (see Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Gluckman, 1963; 1966; and for an earlier discussion of the social-psychological functions of conflict see the many writings of Simmel).(2) This point has gained popularity in the sociological literature and we will not labour it here. In Chapter IV we will provide more detail on how conflict can, overall, maintain order. But the notion that consensus can generate conflict may need explaining.

Consensus can block integration between groups and bring about destruction within groups. On one level, this process is exemplified by utopian groups holding to impractical or destructive norms. For example, consensus by some youth groups to the norm of total anarchy during the "youth revolution" of the 1960s and early 1970s led to their inevitable disintegration (Moore and Myerhoff, 1975). Compliance to such norms as competition, religious superiority as found in Northern Ireland, and racial inequality as found in South Africa, are hardly conducive to social integration (van den Berghe, 1963:703). Consensus should be defined, states van den Berghe (ibid.), "not only in terms of the norms of a particular group as the functionalist approach conceives of it, but also in terms of dissension with the norms of other groups. A total conception of consensus must include a dialectic of normative opposition among the constituent groups of a society".

Van den Berghe is only one of many authors who have formulated similar conclusions with regard to the nature of conflict and consensus (Kaestle, 1976; Floud and Halsey, 1958; Rex, 1961; and others). From a reading of social theory alone it is valid to postulate that the history and development of the UPNG community will be illustrative of both conflict and consensus, with neither process necessarily gaining a permanent ascendancy over the other. In the next Chapter this notion will be built into a theoretical model through which to interpret UPNG. Each element in the model comes from the writings of other authors interested in the university as a "complex organization". Where necessary, past conceptualizations are modified in terms of what has been discussed above. The resultant framework is illustrative of various aspects of current thought on the structure and function of the university as a "complex organization". As stated in the Introduction, the purpose of this case study is not to generate theory, but to test the adequacy of an existing body of mainstream sociological theory against one specific case. We will test generalizations about structure and process derived from other particular situations to see what relevance they may or may not have to a university in a Melanesian environment.

NOTES

1. Nisbet (1969) argues that change within any society is not brought about by internal structural differentiation, but is wrought upon the society by external forces. He is reacting to the evolutionary view of history, and is quite correct to argue that change is an empirical process, not a phenomenon to be assumed through the use of a biological metaphor. But

social structures do have internal inconsistencies and contradictions that may produce conflict and change. However this proposition must also be studied in terms of concrete social events.

2. The notion that conflict can be a force for social order is not new. Kant wrote in 1784 in his *Idea for a Universal History* that: "The means employed by Nature to bring about the developments of all the capacities of men is their antagonism in society, so as this is, in the end, the cause of a lawful order among men".

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE UNIVERSITY AS AN ORGANIZATION OR COMMUNITY

> The university can only achieve its objectives within the framework of an institution... But the institution is simultaneously indispensable and a standing threat to the idea of the university.
>
> Jaspers
> *The Idea of the University*

Recently universities have attracted attention from social anthropologists and sociologists interested in, on the one hand, "complex organizations" and on the other, "communities". Organizational theory and research is recognized as a major subdiscipline of sociology, and its application to the university organization is not new (Clark, 1970; Hanson, 1968; Baldridge, 1971a; Perkins, 1973; Gross, 1968; and others). The present research is based primarily on a community study of the university, conducted through the framework of organizational analysis.(1)

There is, within the sociological literature, no one agreed-upon theoretical model of complex organizations, much less one sub-theory for the analysis of the university organization. In fact, one can identify three basic models or "images" of the university which have guided research and analysis: "the bureaucratic university", "the normative university" and "the political university".(2) Each model provides the researcher with different theoretical assumptions, questions, and insights into the nature of the function and character of the university.

It is often the view that the above models are in competition with each other. Those authors who treat the university as a bureaucracy or as a normative institution stress stability, shared values, consensus, and a rational integration of structure: and those authors whose image is the political university stress the opposite of these. Each model, however, is concerned with certain specific aspects of the institution, which is one of the primary factors that has led to their proponents' seemingly divergent conclusions on how universities operate.

Since our concern is to explain the structure and function of an entire organizational community it is, therefore, worthwhile to attempt a synthesis of the three positions, for each model stresses certain essential aspects of organizational reality. Clearly for any complex organization to exist there must be some form of formal structure and at least a minimal degree of acceptance by members of certain norms and values. Moreover, members of a complex organization, like those of any other large, heterogeneous community, generate conflicts that require resolution through political processes. In its simplest form, our objective is to combine normative and structural aspects of organizational life with those that create conflict and dissension. The resulting framework can be termed a "normative conflict model of university organization".(3)

In order to highlight those aspects which are, at least in terms of the present study, essential for understanding organizational reality, a brief discussion will be devoted to each of the above models. There are five basic institutional processes to be isolated and examined: the dynamics of structural arrangements, normative behaviour, symbolic behaviour, the politics of decision-making and policy formation, and the maintenance of social order. After isolating these factors, specific questions with regard to the function of each will be posed. The questions are structured around the dialectical nature of consensus and conflict.

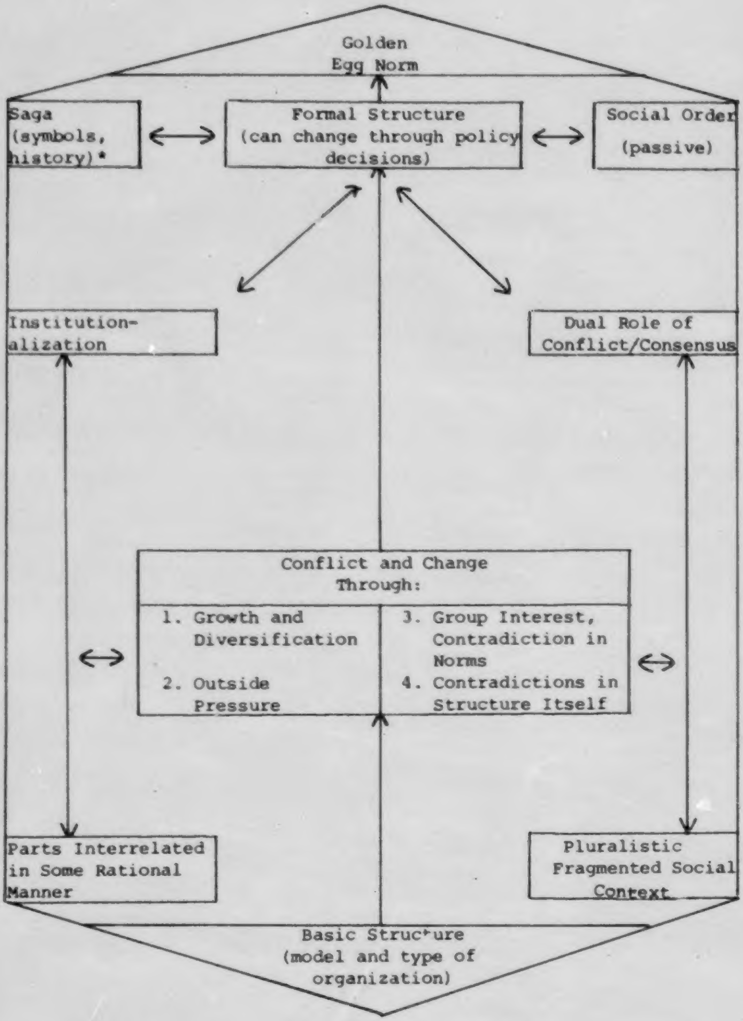
Before attempting to extract the above processes from their various theoretical sources, it may be worthwhile to note that though each process emphasizes specific aspects of the institution, they are, like the phenomena each attempts to describe, interdependent. The nature of their interrelationship is presented in diagrammatic form in Figure I. I will attempt to illustrate that the individual processes have been chosen not only to structure an analysis of certain unique aspects of the University, but to also construct an aggregate picture of the nature and character of the UPNG community in its entirety.

The Bureaucratic University. The bureaucratic model, with its origins in the writings of Weber,(4) has been adequately applied to the formal aspects of university government, as is evidenced by the works of Stroup, 1966; Lunsford, 1970; and Glenny and Dalglish, 1973. However, there are several nonformal aspects of the university community which the bureaucratic framework cannot explain. Baldridge (1971a:11) has succinctly summarized both the strengths and weaknesses of the bureaucratic model. He contends that the model "tells us much about 'authority', that is, legitimate, formalized power, but not much about the other types of power based on non-legitimate threats, the force of mass movements, expertise, and appeals to emotion and sentiment". Baldridge sees that while the bureaucratic model explains the formal structure, it tends to treat structure as a static arrangement, ignoring the dynamics of the structure itself, and in so doing, fails to explain how organizational structures change over time. And finally, he contends that the model tells us about the implementation of official policy, but it fails to illustrate the dynamics behind policy-formation.

It is recognized that a proportion of a university's character is embodied in, according to Weberian terminology, the rational, legalistic authority of a hierarchical structure. The university receives its charter from the state (Hannah and Caughy, 1967). Members are appointed according to their competence, and the relationships between office bearers are prescribed by statutes and by-laws. A member's formal power within the organization arises from the office held, and there is general consensus from other members that such power is legitimate. Formal lines of communication are often set out in detail and members must respect

44

Figure I: Normative Conflict Model of University Organization


Golden Egg Norm
Saga (symbols, history)*
Formal Structure (can change through policy decisions)
Social Order (passive)
Institutionalization
Dual Role of Conflict/Consensus
Conflict and Change Through:
1. Growth and Diversification
2. Outside Pressure
3. Group Interest, Contradiction in Norms
4. Contradictions in Structure Itself
Parts Interrelated in Some Rational Manner
Pluralistic Fragmented Social Context
Basic Structure (model and type of organization)

*"Saga" is defined on p. 38

level of office and rank in the communication network. Over and above all other factors, the structure is based on at least a semi-efficient arrangement of the groups and sub-systems within the organization.

It is a slight over-simplification when Baldridge, above, states that the bureaucratic model does not take account of organizational change. The treatment of organizational structure as a rational, legalistic interrelationship of offices and positions, allows for the consideration of two types of change: (1) change that is endogenous in origin, brought about through a growth in complexity through differentiation (for early examples see Taylor, 1911; Sheldon, 1923; Gulick and Urwick, 1947; and for more recent ones, see Mann, 1957; Likert, 1961; Bennis, 1966; and Zaltman, Duncan and Holbeck, 1973); and (2) change that is exogenous in origin, brought about through external environmental pressures (Thompson and McEwen, 1958; Rice, 1963; Parsons, 1965; Katz and Kahn, 1966; J.D. Thompson, 1967; and Terreyberry, 1968). However, those authors who have examined the function of the complex organization in terms of a hierarchical structure and are concerned basically with the problems of management, have tended to treat both types of change in terms of the *need* for the organization to make a *gradual, rational, efficient and adjustive* response to it. The problem with this approach is that it tends to treat the structure as the static framework of the organization, that is, the structure has importance only in terms of the rational and efficient interrelationships that are maintained amongst its component parts. Baldridge is quite correct when he indicates that the bureaucratic model ignores dynamic processes contained within the structure itself.

It can be argued that structural change within an organization can be both revolutionary and profound, and whether or not it is adjustive must be treated as an empirical question. Furthermore, there is the notion, which has been with us for at least as long as the works of Marx, that the system itself, the very structure of the organization, must be regarded as a crucial source of change and conflict. Contradictions within the structure of any organization may initiate dissension and imbalance, which may or may not result in adjustive change. While still maintaining that the structure of the university is a key factor in understanding its operation, important questions can be asked which give back to the structure the dynamism that is lost or disregarded in the bureaucratic model:

1. Does the organization's structure, through the rational integration and hierarchical arrangement (or rearrangement) of its various component parts maintain stability, equilibrium, and consensus within the institution?
2. Or, may the structure hinder adjustment to exogenous change, that is, change factors that arise from outside the organization?
3. May the structure hinder adjustment to endogenous change, that is, change factors that arise from within the organization?

4. May the structure itself generate dissension, imbalance, conflict, and change within the organization?

The Normative University. Because relationships within an organization are structural, it does not follow that structure predestines an efficient and stable integration of persons and groups. Likewise, because group interaction within an organization is often normative, it does not necessarily mean that consensus and cohesion, based on shared and internalized value systems, are the result.(5) Unfortunately, however, the majority of the studies which have analyzed the "normative nature" of the university organization rest on the premise that the values, attitudes, and beliefs of organizational members are the factors which create consensus, predict behaviour, and hold the university together.

Those studies which have focused on the normative nature of the university organization have approached the subject in several different ways.(6) Here we are interested in only two of the basic approaches. The first concern is with the notion that a university is structured around the norms and values of its professional members, that is, that a university is a professional organization. Second, we wish to explore the concept that major goals and symbols — the organization's "mission" and "saga" — are the principles which guide and unite the university.

In many respects the university is typical of the professionally dominated class of organizations (Baldridge, 1971b: 17). Similar to the law firm, research institute, and major teaching hospital, the university's professional members (that is, research and teaching staff) have the responsibility for making major decisions and for setting major goals. Similar to other professional organizations, competence of the professional member is based more on his ability to perform certain tasks, than on his official position or office within a hierarchical bureaucracy. Competency is judged more by one's professional peers, than by other criteria, such as economic production. The professional member has some degree of autonomy in his position within the organization, autonomy that is often protected by certain universalistic norms. Members are recruited into their profession through a long-term process of selection and socialization at affiliated organizations. And, as every university administrator knows, the successful introduction of any major plan or scheme into the organization is dependent to a large extent on the norms, values, biases, attitudes, and world views of its professional members.

The general problem with the majority of studies which have analyzed professional organizations is their preoccupation with the task of describing how norms and values create consensus and cohesion within the professional community. For example, Etzioni (1961:52) writes that:

> The major means of control in professional organizations are based on prolonged and careful selection, and socialization in universities and professional schools or on the job precedes recruitment to autonomous performance positions. As a consequence, norms are as a rule highly internalized, so that informal controls and symbolic sanctions are highly effective.

This same preoccupation with normative compliance and value consensus has led the researcher away from asking certain penetrating questions about the operation of the university's professional community, especially away from questions that deal with the dynamics of conflict.(7) This can be seen in the very definitions or criteria used to delineate professionalism. For example, Hind (1971:264-92), in the study of the professional authority of the faculty, uses the following criteria (adopted from Greenwood, 1957) to determine the professional nature of a university faculty (p. 265):

"1. Dependence on a *body of theory* derived from an extensive fund of knowledge.

2. Client subordination to *professional authority* in matters within the professional's sphere of competence.

3. *Community sanction* of authority, whether formal or informal.

4. An *ethical code* regulating behaviour, especially demanding affective neutrality toward clients, and support of colleagues.

5. A *professional culture* with its own values, norms, and symbols; and its formal organizations for training recruits, conducting practice, and regulating performance."

It is quite acceptable to state that a faculty and especially an individual discipline depends on a "body of theory". But this dependence should be treated as problematic. Conflict, sometimes of a most bitter nature, can arise within a faculty just because members hold to different theories. *The sociologist needs to ask why a faculty or department is dependent upon one certain theory and fund of knowledge, and not on others.*(8)

Students must accept, to some degree, the "professional authority" of their instructors or there would be little reason for their participation in the organization. However, as student mass movements have shown, clients can successfully challenge professional authority; and with the current trend of student participation in university governance, clients can participate in defining the professional's sphere of competence. *The interesting question to ask is how an academic is able to maintain professional authority in the face of competing pressures on his sovereignty in professional matters.*

"Community sanction" of authority is an important factor in the governance of any organization. *But the question is whose authority is being sanctioned by what community.* The professional authority of the faculty and that of the administration are often in competition with one another, with neither community wishing to concede legitimacy of authority to the other. The student community may feel that since they are the primary consumers in the organization, the ultimate sanction of authority should rest with them. Furthermore, in certain circumstances authority may be based on criteria that the community would not wish to publicly sanction.

It is true that professional communities have their own "ethical codes, cultures, values, norms and symbols". But there can be different communities, such as a community of humanists and a community of scientists, with different cultures, values, norms, and symbols, within the same organization. The sociologist must search not only for those factors which create unity within one sub-culture, but also for those which may create conflict between different sub-cultures. *The question is whether normative consensus in one group may create conflict between groups that hold to different norms and values.*

Every profession has its formal organization for training recruits. But just because members of a faculty have attended a university at one time or another, does not ensure their commitment to the norms and values either of the faculty or of the university. *The question is how do members' past patterns of socialization and experience affect the stability of both the faculty and the university.* The legitimacy of norms may be dependent upon the social situation, and normative consensus, where it does occur, does not necessarily rest on a collective acceptance of central values.

Basically, the model of the university as a professional organization treats the faculty as a strong collegial system set within the confines of an overall bureaucratic structure. From this model certain authors have hypothesized that the norms and values of the professional sub-system override the bureaucratic features of the whole.

Other students interested in normative behaviour and complex organizations have searched for those factors which transcend the normative bonds of professional sub-systems, creating an overall institutional character. Such studies focus on the influence that institutionalized goals and symbols have on members' behaviour, and on the power of institutionalization itself.

By the term "institutionalization" the sociologist means: "the development of *orderly, stable, socially integrating* forms of action" (Broom and Selznick, 1963:250). This phenomenon occurs in an organization, according to Selznick (1957:17), when the organization has meaning above and beyond the immediate purpose for which it was designed, that is, when it becomes "infused with value".(9) Through institutionalization, major "missions" and goals of the organization become symbols which legitimize members' actions and direct and limit the organization's scope of operation. This process helps to protect and stabilize the organization, for both its members and the public at large value the institution for itself and, hence, would resist any major change in its basic structure or orientation.

Clearly, people have beliefs and opinions about an organization based on its major goals, and people value an institution for being more than merely a technical instrument for achieving certain ends. Both members and the public value the university not as an instrument for awarding degrees and diplomas (a variety of institutions could accomplish this end), but because it is a symbol of educational excellence, of free and open enquiry, of the highest standards in research, and so on. But whether or not such beliefs and values create "orderly, stable, socially integrating forms and structures" is, first of all, an empirical question —

not something that can be assumed by definition. In order to advance questions along these lines, we first need a concept that can delineate some of the beliefs and values which members attach to the university organization.

The nature of members' overall commitment to the values and symbols of the university organization has been studied extensively by Burton Clark. Members, according to Clark (1970; 1972:178-9), are committed to the organization by the "folk history" that is built up over time, that is, its "organizational saga". Clark states that:

> Saga...has come to mean a narrative of heroic exploits, of a unique development that has deeply stirred the emotions of participants and descendants. Thus, a saga is not simply a story but a story that at some time has had a particular base of believers...
>
> An organizational saga is a collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group. The group's definition of the accomplishment, intrinsically historical but embellished through retelling and rewriting, links stages of organizational development. The participants have added affect, an emotional loading, which places their conception between the coolness of rational purpose and the warmth of sentiment found in religion and magic. An organizational saga presents some rational explanation of how certain means led to certain ends, but it also includes affect that turns a formal place into a beloved institution, to which participants may be passionately devoted...
>
> With a general emphasis on normative bonds, organizational saga refers to a unified set of publicly expressed beliefs about the formal group that (a) is rooted in history, (b) claims unique accomplishment, and (c) is held with sentiment by the group.

The notion of an organizational saga is a useful theoretical tool for the study of certain aspects of symbolic behaviour. As a concept it gives importance to publicly expressed stories about group uniqueness; it is an explanation of what makes an organization unique and distinctive in the eyes of its members. In theory, these stories or "folk histories" function as symbolic justifications for members' actions in concrete situations.

According to Clark (1970:255): "...a saga produces unity. It binds together the structural elements, it links internal and external groups, and it merges...individual and organizational identities."(10) But these stories or beliefs may carry within them their own contradictions and conflicts. The formation of a strong saga may not necessarily be beneficial to the organization or to the long term goals which its members hope to achieve. The organization must interact with its environment, and with the changes that occur in it. A resistance to change, based on certain value or symbolic commitments, may make the organization disorderly, unstable and socially disintegrated.

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

The Political University. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

policy statements. So long as no one group has the power to completely dominate all others, and all groups wish to continue their effective participation in the organization, policy formation is a process of political compromise. Social order, paradoxical as it may first seem, is a product of the political conflict that arises over basic issues in the organization.

Baldridge (1971a) has been successful in translating some of the general concepts of political analysis into a model of university decision-making. The basic assumption on which his model rests is that the university's social context is fractured by internal and external sub-cultures and divergent interest groups, each attempting to advance their goals over those of others by bringing pressure to bear on the decision-making process. From this basic assumption, important questions can be asked:(11)

1. In what manner is the organization's social environment pluralistic?

2. How effective are the various interest groups in bringing pressure to bear on the decision-making process, and what forms of legitimate and non-legitimate power and authority are available to various groups for influencing the process?

3. To what extent are the biases, world views, values, and interests of the individual and groups who participate in policy decisions reflected in the resultant official policies?

Another aspect of the political model is the assumption that conflict exists in the organization because it is a natural and inevitable feature of human social arrangements and is itself a stabilizing force. Van den Berghe (1973:262-4) draws upon this assumption in his political analysis of Ibadan University. There are, according to van den Berghe, two components to social order within the organization, one "passive" and the other "active".

The explanation of passive social order is based on what can be termed as "conflict theories of order". Several authors have recognized that conflict is an essential aspect to any social system (for an analysis of conflict in industrial society see Coser, 1956, and Dahrendorf, 1959, and see the many works of Max Gluckman for an analysis of the importance of conflict to tribal societies). Conflict, so long as polarization does not occur, divides cross-sectionally community members in terms of conflicting allegiances. Cross-cutting lines of conflict and cleavage can serve to "keep the social system together". Alliances shift as the issues of contention shift, and today's enemy may be tomorrow's friend. As Gluckman (1966:4) writes: "people who are friends on one issue are enemies on another. Herein lies social cohesion, rooted in the conflicts between men's different allegiances".

Social order at Ibadan University was passive according to van den Berghe (1973:263) because "the very fluidity and instability of internal alignments contributed to the stability of the whole". In a similar vein, Gluckman (1966:25) makes the general observation that "...conflicts in loyalties and divisions of allegiance tend to inhibit the development of open quarrelling, and ...the greater the division in one area of society, the greater is likely to be the cohesion in a wider range of relationships — *provided that there is a general need for peace* ..." (emphasis provided).

The fact that members must recognize a "general need for peace" is termed by van den Berghe as the active component of social order. Shifting lines of conflict and cleavages do not account fully for the stability of the whole. An organization is held together because, van den Berghe writes, "members have a strong interest in keeping it going". There are powerful sanctions against letting internal conflicts turn into an attack against the institution itself. The basic interest of all members in keeping the institution alive, presenting it to the public as a solidarity group, constitutes the most basic and universalistic of all norms. No one is prepared to "kill the institutional goose that lays the golden eggs", to paraphrase van den Berghe (1973:261-2).

The recognition that conflict is an essential aspect of the reality of social life has been built into all the questions advanced in this Chapter. We will not labour the point by advancing here additional questions with regard to the function of conflict. Rather, the topic of "passive" and "active" social order will be considered in more detail in the concluding Chapter.

Summary. In several respects, the political model of university organization is an improvement over the bureaucratic and the normative, especially for the purpose of this research. The political model focuses on the conflict that arises between groups of different cultures, values, norms, goals, and interests and on the role of political compromise in the administration of the university organization; conflict is natural and change is a primary concern. The analysis of the new university, set in the context of a new state, requires this sort of framework.

In attempting to build a normative conflict model of university organization, it has been stressed that an analysis of the university which focuses on conflict and change must take sufficient account of norms and symbols. All behaviour within the organization is not motivated by political interest. Groups do hold some values in common, and on some occasions consensus does seem to be the prevailing force surrounding certain major decisions. Norms are an important factor in university life, and an actor's political effectiveness is often dependent on his knowledge of the organization's normative prescriptions. Moreover, members value the university for more than its technical function, and they feel some degree of pride with regard to past achievements.

All models of complex organization must take account of structure. The normative and the bureaucratic models of university organization treat structure as the organization's static framework. Baldridge sees the formal structure as both a source for conflict and a mechanism for its resolution. Van den Berghe notes that an organization can tolerate a high level of conflict; and conflict does not necessarily require resolution nor does it have to result in major structural change. There are, however, other relationships between structure and conflict and change which will be explored in the case study. For example, members may attempt to resolve certain organizational conflicts by significantly changing the structure. But such change may have little or no effect on the basic conflicts.

This is one of several topics to be explored in more depth in the concluding Chapter. Various theoretical questions have been raised in the attempt to synthesize seemingly opposing models of university organization. However, these questions must await the presentation of the ethnographic evidence, for theory gains meaning only in relation to its ability to explain social reality.

NOTES

1. In this study no fine distinction is made between the terms "organization" and "institution". A quick review of the literature shows that in some cases "organization" is used to denote a social system with set roles for members, goals, a bureaucracy, and so on, while an institution is something different. In other cases the "institution" is the social system with the set roles for members, goals, bureaucracies, and the like, while an organization is something different. In this study the terms "complex organization" and "institution" are used interchangeably.
2. One of the best summaries of organizational analysis as applied to universities is found in Baldridge (1971a:7-26). He identifies two "paradigms" of university organization, the "university as a bureaucracy" and the "university as a collegium". Finding both models inadequate for his purpose, Baldridge proposes his own political model. We cover much of the same material discussed by Baldridge, but for the purpose of synthesizing different aspects of past theories and not to reject one in favour of the other.
3. The term "normative conflict model" is from van den Berghe (1973:258). His Chapter on Co-operation and Conflict in Heterogeneous Social Systems (251-68) offers some important insights into the function of both norms and conflict as they help to hold a social system together. However, his discussion only suggests a model for analysis, it does not set out a formal theoretical framework. The model outlined for the purposes of this research attempts to treat some of van den Berghe's suggestions in a more formalistic manner.
4. This is only to say that those authors who have examined the bureaucratic nature of the university have drawn heavily on Weber's historical and sociological analysis of "bureaucracy". The criticism of the "bureaucratic model of the university" put forward in this paper is not a criticism of the works of Weber.
5. Of course, as stated in Chapter III, this and the preceding statement are general criticisms of certain applications of "structural-functionalism" in contemporary sociological analysis. However, we are not engaging in "paradigmatic entrepreneurship" as R. Robertson (1974:108) terms it, by supporting one sociological stance over that of others. Clearly, norms and structure are important to an understanding of conflict, and conflict is important to an understanding of social cohesion and structural integration.

6. The study of the university as a normative organization has its roots in the traditional concept that the university is, or at least should be, based on the normative bonds of a "community of scholars" or "collegium" — a company of equals bound together by common value-systems and heritage. Millett (1962; 1973:53-4), as a proponent of the traditional view, sees the entire university enterprise as one cohesive academic community of administrators, faculty members, students, and non-academic staff, all pursuing academic goals in a context of co-operation and consensus.

   The "community of scholars" image of the university is, as several authors have observed, no longer valid in terms of the large, highly differentiated, and professionally dominated modern university. Kerr (1963:19) sees not one, but several communities in what he terms as the modern "multiversity". Furthermore, the student community, according to Kerr (p. 104) may feel more like the "lumpenproletariat" than part of an overall academic community. Sanders (1973:78) states that the traditional idea of a "community of scholars" should be replaced by the notion of a functional community, "which depends, internally, upon division of labor, interdependence, and conflict-resolving mechanisms". Clark (1966:291) notes that: "Expertise is a dominant characteristic of the campus, and organization and authority cluster around it. Because of its expertness, together with its evergrowing size, the faculty moves away from community, moves away from collegiality of the whole".

7. Most studies of professional organizations recognize that conflict exists within the institution, and they attribute the main source of organizational strain to the fact that members may be more committed to the professional community than they are to the overall organization (Hind, 1971; Box and Cotgrove, 1966; Merton, 1957; Baumgartel, 1955; and Meltzer, 1956). But this form of conflict is not treated as a dynamic or natural process, rather it is a phenomenon that should be diminished by adjustive measures. For example, Hind adopts the premise that the behaviour of the university's professional members is predictable by their desire for a positive evaluation from "influential participants in the evaluation process" who are, in effect, "the authority structure". Organizational strain can, according to Hind, be diminished by adjustments to the "evaluation-reward-authority" process. This comes close to being a "behaviouralist model" where conflict is overcome by some sort of "positive reinforcement" for the appropriate type of behaviour. We may use this premise to predict the behaviour of a junior staff member who idealizes his professor and hopes for promotion, but it explains little of the complexities of large, heterogeneous universities.

8. The knowledge propagated by an educational institution is neither totally objective nor can it be divorced from the interests of those in control (Young, 1971; Bourdieu, 1973). The way in which a society selects, classifies, distributes and evaluates educational knowledge reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control within the society (Bernstein, 1973). An individual's

perception of reality is structured by knowledge systems, but knowledge is itself relevant to the techniques and concepts of a particular time; what is thought of as education is subject to historical variation and expresses certain basic conscious and unconscious elements of a culture, while omitting others (Hopper, 1971; Williams, 1961; Vaughan and Archer, 1971).

9. Selznick (1949) does not ignore the political nature of complex organizations, nor the fact that there may be strong competing interests amongst the constituent groups (internal and external) of an institution. However, for Selznick, group conflict is subsidiary to the institution's "need" to establish internal stability, order, and equilibrium, and to be "valued" (see Silverman, 1970:51-3). The problem with this approach is that it assumes all conflicts within the organization must be resolved (with either intended or unintended consequences) for the sake of stability. Also, the approach ignores the institution's structure as a primary source of conflict and possible change.
10. Clark (1970:259) recognizes that: "The ultimate risk of distinctive character is that of success in one era breeding rigidity and stagnation in a later one". But he tells us little about such processes or how they may come about. Clearly, he is much more interested in how a "saga" binds an organization together for the purpose of achieving distinction.
11. The following questions are only loosely based on Baldridge's framework, they are not quotations.

PART III

THE PIONEERING STAGE

CHAPTER V

INTRODUCTION TO PART III

Ken Inglis, foundation Professor of History and the second Vice-Chancellor of the University, retired from UPNG on 7 April 1975. To mark such a momentous occasion and to pay respect to a man so closely involved with the University's development, a semi-formal farewell party was staged by the UPNG Staff Association. A short description of this function captures, in a nutshell, much of the University's essence.

The function was well catered for by members of the University's kitchen staff. Wine, spirits, and kegs of beer were provided in quantity. The affair was well attended by academics, administrators, and their families; also some graduates, members of the government, a few senior students, and other friends of the University were present. When the time arrived for speeches and presentation of gifts to the Vice-Chancellor and his wife, the company was in a gay mood, with the liquor flowing freely.

Appropriately, the Vice-Chancellor's speech concentrated on the institution's past. Reference was made to the rough and unpleasant physical conditions imposed upon staff and students in the early days. The students were first housed in labour-type barracks at the June Valley showgrounds. It was generally agreed that the student quarters were shocking. The rooms were open to mosquitoes, a deadly menace in a country riddled with malaria, and the unsurfaced grounds became a sea of mud when it rained. More importantly, there was nowhere for the students to study. The barracks were cramped, the average being four to a room, without adequate lighting. The toilets at the showgrounds were a disgrace, no recreation facilities were provided, and transport was unavailable. The ruggedness of these early days was due, in part, to the decision by the Interim Council to commence teaching before constructing the University's first buildings. But these were only temporary conditions; the University was soon to share facilities with those of the Administrative College, whose building programme was nearing completion.

The Vice-Chancellor's speech then touched upon a few of the past battles between the University and the Department of Territories. The institution had to justify itself with regard to the funds it received from the Administration, and often had to fight vigorously against cutbacks. The Vice-Chancellor stressed that in the beginning there was concern over the University's academic standards, and their acceptance abroad. A high water mark for the University, and the morale of its staff, was reached upon the graduation of its first students in 1970. Shortly after, a few students were accepted for postgraduate studies in foreign universities. The news that these students were making better grades abroad than they achieved while at UPNG, spread through the campus like "wildfire". In one sense, the University had "made it".

During this reminiscence of the past, a member of the catering staff had become quite inebriated. Obviously feeling the need to lie down, no better place could have been provided than a woven rug placed in one corner of the speakers' platform. The rug was one of the many gifts to be presented to the Vice-Chancellor and Mrs Inglis. Shortly before the time arrived for gift presentations, another member of the catering staff struck his drunken workmate who had by then sprawled himself upon the rug. The caterer then rolled into a corner where he proceeded to be ill.

After this brief episode, which was successfully ignored by most present, and with the conclusion of speeches, the party resumed. Everyone was in a quite gay and jovial mood, with much singing and dancing. Around midnight, a history lecturer and long time member of staff, suggested that the flow of beer be stopped and the party ended. He had had a great deal of experience with such affairs. However, the preventive measure was too late. An indigenous member of the University's Administration and the inebriated caterer had commenced to argue. The Administrator, whose home district was Milne Bay, located on the Papuan side of the Island, was telling the New Guinean Highlander that he was drunk and should go home. A fourth-year student, a Tolai whose home district was located in New Guinea, attempted to intercede on behalf of the caterer. His actions seemed to be motivated not so much by a need to protect his fellow New Guinean (the stocky Highlander did not require any physical protection), but by a feeling of aggression towards the "meddlesome" Papuan. The student's actions resulted in a fist fight between himself and the Administrator. The atmosphere became quite ugly and at this point a lecturer in linguistics, who was also a relatively long-standing member of staff, suggested we leave before we were identified as another ethnic group.

This is more than a story of a semi-formal function gone bad through excessive drinking. First of all, it was not an isolated event, but one that re-occurred in similar form and pattern throughout the field study. On one level of generalization, the academic and administrative staff had not only gathered on the night of 26 March 1975 to farewell a departing dignitary, but also to take communion in a ritual based upon past traditions and achievements.

The Vice-Chancellor's speech had all the ingredients for an organizational saga. It was a publicly expressed story, rooted in history, claiming unique accomplishment. It was not just a speech by a departing dignitary, describing how the University was founded, but a "folk history" one heard repeated in form and detail at numerous public and private social events. The speech was a tale, shared with sentiment by many of those present, of how a formal group built, in the face of adversity, what they felt to be a distinctive institution.

At the time of the University's foundation, there was a fear that it would be of low status and academically mediocre. There was also a belief that this was the type of institution the Australian Department of Territories wanted for PNG. What was created by those who participated in the building of UPNG was an institution which not only provided indigenous students with a high standard of university education, but which also served as an important public forum for the criticism of colonialism in PNG. The saga is the story of how UPNG was made into the country's "premier educational institution", embodying excellence in teaching and with its members as high-minded social critics.

In Chapter VII we will explore how these beliefs developed and helped members to justify their actions in building and protecting an institution set within a somewhat hostile colonial environment. In Chapter VIII the focus is on the institution's endogenous environment. Since the University's conception, an expatriate academic community has attempted to arrive at a structure, form of teaching, and curriculum suited to the needs of indigenous students. The attempt to make foreign ideas relevant to local needs has caused the University's structure to be highly fluid. Throughout the University's history there has been debate on what is, and is not, the best form of academic structure for PNG. The belief that the University should have the best possible academic programme and that it should not be dictated to by outside forces, are significant factors allowing for heated debate and "soul searching" over "appropriate" academic structure.

Though the contents of the Vice-Chancellor's speech had an emotional effect on many of those present, there was also the feeling that the saga was no longer useful as a justification for members' actions. The University was about to usher in its first indigenous Vice-Chancellor, and the date for the country's independence was only a few months away. The expatriates present, and some Papua New Guineans as well, seemed to reflect back to "happier days"; days when the University's saga was stronger and the University was more assured of itself.

The incident that occurred during the Vice-Chancellor's speech was either overlooked or treated with humour by most expatriates present. In terms of norms, values, language, and cultural background, there is a great gulf between most expatriates and the University's manual workforce. These factors effectively insulate each group from the other. But the behaviour of the drunken caterer also symbolized how tenuous the social veneer of western institutional values, norms, and structure is in PNG. The educated Papua New Guineans present seemed to pay particular attention to this aspect of the caterer's behaviour.

There has been little time for newly introduced western institutions to take firm root in Papua New Guinean soil. Any attempt to understand the position of higher education in PNG today must be greatly influenced by the role of education in the country's past. In Chapter VI we will briefly review the development of education in PNG from before World War I to the present.

The events that occurred during the Vice-Chancellor's farewell party underline several other themes or currents running through the UPNG community. For example, excessive drinking is quite common at such social affairs, as are outbursts of violence among certain ethnic groups under such circumstances.

The violence between ethnic groups reflects the tensions within all of PNG society. Violence between ethnic groups at the University is only a microcosm of the larger society. Very rarely is there violence against expatriates by Papua New Guineans; in this sense *racial* tension is minimal. But tension is the correct word. The community is a "pressure cooker"; drink allows the steam to be drained off in, paradoxical as it may seem, an acceptable fashion. Behaviour can be explained away by saying, "Oh, they were drunk", implying diminished responsibility of actions, thus helping to diminish the significance of the problem.

The expatriate academic and University administrator is in a precarious position in either condoning or condemning the actions of Papua New Guineans. First, internal University policy, both written and unwritten, with regard to the policing of staff and students rests upon foreign traditions. A university community is a "liberal community", it is assumed a priori that members are mature, capable of handling their own affairs, and must be given autonomy of action. There are very few rules of conduct written into University ordinances, and even fewer are ever enforced. Second, liberal attitudes and values dictate that it is not the expatriate's position to be involved in local affairs. It is the country of Papua New Guineans, and the expatriate academic and University administrator are there to serve, more than guide or dictate (an attitude resented by some members of staff). Third, liberal attitudes serve to mask the divorce between expatriate and indigene. On several planes the expatriate community of academics and administrators (along with their families) live and work with very little "real" contact and communication outside their own "ethnic" spheres.

The University, like the nation itself, is now entering an age of uncertainty. UPNG is an institution sponsored by a colonial power and built by expatriates. The "mission" to be achieved by the foundation of a university in PNG was well defined by those involved. However, with the accomplishment of the original mission and with a dramatic change in the Institution's exogenous environment, the nature of the task of adapting the University to a social context which its members helped create, is less clear. The character of the institution and the goals and values of its members have a different significance today than they had only some ten years ago. To fully understand the uncertainty faced by the institution in the present, close attention needs to be paid to past achievements. For, as Baldridge (1975:428) emphasizes, "knowing the direction of an institution's mission is especially necessary to understand large-scale organizational changes because missions that shift or are attacked by outside forces demand major adjustment within the organization".

CHAPTER VI

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN PNG

Papua New Guinea(1) is a mountainous, rugged, densely-forested island lying solely within the tropics. The environment, to say the least, is one of difficulty. The climate is well suited to malaria and a host of parasitic diseases. Extensive travel within the country is virtually impossible, except by air. This has meant that development has not only been slow and expensive but very fragmentary. The coastal villages have had a distinct advantage over those in the Highlands. For example, the Tolai of New Britain have long had advantages of western education and other forms of development that are only now becoming available to the Chimbu and other Highland peoples in the interior. In fact, some peoples of the rugged, mountainous interior have experienced extensive contact with European culture only within the last thirty years. On the other hand, traditional social organization in New Guinea has always been diverse, often exclusive in type to small village societies. In a country where more than seven hundred linguistic groups have been identified, social and political organization rarely extends beyond the immediate boundaries of the clan and village. The diversity of peoples and the highly expensive and differential implementation of official policies and programmes have made nation-building a difficult task.

Papua New Guinea supports few truly urban areas where interactions among peoples from different clans and cultural backgrounds occur. Hence, the country's institutions, especially the universities, serve as major vehicles for the interaction and exchange of culture and ideas of Papua New Guineans from the various regions and clans. This has led to much emphasis being placed upon UPNG and other institutions as nation-building instruments.

In contrast to the African situation, the notion that higher education should be developed in PNG is a recent phenomenon. Ashby (1966) traces the idea that the British government should establish universities in Africa back to the 1870s. Though not much was accomplished on this front until the 1930s, Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone became affiliated to Durham University in 1876 (Hargreaves, 1973:27). The development of a viable system of secondary education in PNG did not take place until the 1960s. Before World War II, Australia did very little in terms of even establishing primary schools in the Territories; and the little that was accomplished was wiped out by the Japanese invasion. After the war the Australian Administration was forced to build an educational system from the bottom up. It would not be until the end of the 1950s that anyone seriously contemplated building a university in PNG. To write about the history of UPNG is tantamount to a description of the development of higher education in PNG.

EDUCATION IN PRE-WORLD WAR II PNG

Well before the turn of the century, the Netherlands, Britain and Germany had divided "New Guinea" into three territories. The Netherlands laid claim to the half of the island west of the 141st parallel, while Britain and Germany maintained interest in the eastern half. Britain took formal possession of the south-eastern half, known as British New Guinea until 1906 and as Papua thereafter, and Germany claimed the north-eastern half, known as New Guinea, in 1884. In 1905 the Australian Parliament passed the Papua Act and took formal control of the Territory in 1906.

Policy in Papua during Britain's involvement was set primarily by the Administrator, Sir William MacGregor. MacGregor set the tradition in Papua of allocating to the missions the responsibility of education. He did attempt to enter government into education by the edict of 1897, making attendance at school for three days a week compulsory for all children aged 5 to 13 years. But this policy, like many others, was made ineffective by the Administration's small resources and limited scope of operation in the Territory.

Pre-World War II development in Papua was greatly influenced by one man, Sir Hubert Murray, who was the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua from 1909 to 1940. By the time of his appointment, general interest in Papua by Australians was on the wane. Murray, in the light of an indifferent Commonwealth Government, was able to create policy with little constraint; however, finding the funds to carry out policy was a different matter (Legge, 1971; Lett, 1949; and West, 1968).

Murray took a paternalistic view of the indigene and ascribed to him the role of a prosperous and happy peasant (Legge, 1971:33-4). He set a policy of differential development between the indigenous peoples and the expatriate planters, as already evolved by MacGregor, and left the actual responsibility of education to the missions. Between 1911 and 1917 a general policy was evolved whereby the Administration would subsidize the mission schools conforming to certain criteria. Funds were provided to assessed schools in relation to per capita subsidies for passes gained in government syllabus examinations.

Murray, in a statement of 1912, "saw the possibility that Papuans might in time reach 'a fairly high standard', but argued that a higher education should not be offered and warned of the dangers of considering Papuans socially and politically equal with Europeans" (*Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea*, 1972:319). Again in 1929 and 1935, Murray warned against the dangers of too much education and argued against the introduction of democratic procedures for Papuans (ibid.).

Some educational growth was obtained under the education subsidies scheme. In 1921, Standard 2 was the highest pass awarded, and 130 pupils were examined. By 1940 the number of pupils examined was 3,000 (all levels) and the highest level of examination had risen to Standard 5. In all schools in Papua it is estimated that there were 12,000-14,000 pupils in 1940, though most were in village mission schools which offered little more than religious indoctrination in the vernacular.

Australia's interest in the economic and strategic value of German New Guinea pre-dated World War I. The policies of the German administration were quite different from those of MacGregor and Murray in the south. The Germans placed the emphasis on economic exploitation and established a thriving trade in copra. The Germans did not have the same sympathy as the Administration in Papua with indigenous customs and cultures and did much less to protect indigenous peoples. Settlers and missionaries were allowed virtually to go where their desires and guns took them. In general, German policies were designed to force the indigenous population into a cash economy.

In 1914 Australian troops occupied German New Guinea. The military Administration of New Guinea was directed primarily at preserving German economic enterprises for expropriation (Louis, 1966). In 1920, when Australia gained civil control of New Guinea through a class C Mandate granted and supervised by the League of Nations, the emphasis on the economic possibilities of the Territory was carried over (Rowley, 1958; 1971b:71).

In 1919 Murray was pressing for a united administration of Papua and New Guinea, a policy which twenty years later he opposed. Murray stressed the humanitarian responsibilities Australia had towards the New Guineans. His views of protecting the culture and rights of Papuans, along with the enactment of labour laws, had made him unpopular with business interests in the Territory, especially since business was not prospering. If the Administrations of the two territories had amalgamated, then it was likely Murray would have been the Administrator. Economic concerns were the priorities of those who had an interest in New Guinea, and it was stressed that a separate administration was required to fully develop the Territory's economic potential.

The general opinion was that Murray was "bad for business", and a separate Administration was formed for New Guinea, with General E.A. Wisdom as Administrator (Rowley, 1971b:72-3). The Commonwealth Government supported the policy of economic opportunism in New Guinea, while it did quite the opposite in Papua (ibid.:73). The economic role of the New Guinean was to be one of cheap labour.

Though it was the expatriate settler and businessman who reaped the greatest rewards from the economic policies of the mandate period, many of the New Guinean peoples also benefited from a prosperous economy which was first initiated by the Germans and further developed by the Australians. Many of the indigenous groups in the areas with a long history of European contact developed a profitable trade in copra; they were able to buy

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> [illegible]

The Administration was severely hindered by expatriate attitudes in its attempt to develop educational policies. The expatriate planter and businessman viewed education as fostering disruptive qualities in the "native" population (see *Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea*, 1929-30:117). For example, a reaction by the expatriate community to a labour strike in Rabaul was to prevent the Administration from sending a few pupils to Queensland for secondary education. It was felt these students would pick up ideas about higher wages and better working conditions, and, on their return, prove to be a disruptive force. What was wanted by the expatriate community, and by which they judged the Administration' accomplishments, was a docile labour force (Radi, 1971:119).

As in Papua, the bulk of the education in New Guinea was carried out by the missions. Mission education was a composite of educational philosophies implemented by the different missionaries with little co-operation and no clear policy. Reports on the quality of mission schools ranged from very good, to nothing more than religious indoctrination. By 1940 there were thirty-five mission training centres, 158 elementary schools, 2,329 village schools, and approximately 65,000 pupils. However, for the most part, the education received by these students was mere religious rote learning in the vernacular.

The educational policies evolved by the Australian colonial administration of pre-World War II PNG were far from progressive. However, during this period a few Papuans and New Guineans did receive some form of education and training, enabling them to participate in the modern economic sector of the society. Teacher training was one of the main avenues by which some Papuans and New Guineans advanced in the lower echelons of the modern sector. Missions trained some indigenes, enabling them to serve as village lay-helpers and pastors. Employment in the Administration, especially in junior clerical positions, the constabulary, and the health service, also served as a path for indigenous advancement.

In some cases, prominence of family background of today's modern, educated members of the Papua New Guinean elite can be traced back two, or even three generations. The association between modern elite status and family background is neither unique to Papua New Guinea nor is it difficult to understand. (See Goode (1966), Lloyd (1966), Cohen (1972), Miller (1974), and others). Those indigenes trained and educated, however minimally, in the prewar and immediate postwar eras, had some degree of privilege and influence in the village. They not only passed on to their children the desire for education and for the rewards it would bring, but were in a better position to ensure educational opportunities for their children than were other members of the community. Also, it needs to be remembered that family background is, in turn, a function of the colonial system of development. Certain ethnic groups, such as the Tolai and the Motu, are over-represented in the ranks of Papua New Guinea's urbanized, educated elite, while the people of the Southern Highlands, for example, are greatly under-represented. Historically, the districts from which the greatest number of educated and urbanized Papua New Guineans are drawn, are the districts in which contact came early and development has been more intense. A glance at Table I shows the degree of disparities between districts in terms of educational opportunities. As schools are spread more evenly throughout the country, the present imbalance between districts is slowly being corrected. But any change in opportunity is occurring more rapidly for males than females (Weeks, 1978:48-9).

Because of retarded development of past educational programmes, the nexus between family background and educational opportunity in PNG has not been as strong as is found in some other new states. Today, the formation of a modern educated elite in PNG is still in its infancy. To speak of elite formation in PNG in terms of class formation is difficult and hazardous. Ethnicity mediates against the elite acting purely in terms of class interests. However, the groundwork may have already been laid for the development of a strong class system in PNG (Willis, 1975).

POSTWAR POLICIES

With the Japanese invasion, formal education practically ceased in the two Territories. The civil administrations were replaced by the military under the Australian New Guinean Administrative Unit (ANGAU) on 14 February 1942. In 1945 the Australian Labor Government introduced the "new deal" for the indigenous population, through the Papua and New Guinea Provisional Administration Act 1945-46, and military control was progressively transferred to civil administration. The Act provided for a single Administrator and Supreme Court.

Though the opportunity presented itself in postwar Papua and New Guinea to dispense with the political distinction between the two Territories, this was not to be the case. The United Nations Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949 provided for the government of the two Territories under one Administration, but New Guinea was classed as a Trust Territory and Papua remained a Possession of the Crown. Technically, Papuans were Australian citizens (but with little real meaning of citizenship) and New Guineans were Australian Protected Persons. The past artificial political distinction between the Territories has recently been translated into a real distinction in terms of sectional rivalry (Nelson, 1972:19-30).

Since World War II one of the major factors depicting the development of education has been the increased involvement of government. One provision of the 1945-46 Act was that education was to be controlled and directed by the Administration. This fostered fears in the missionaries for the secularizing tendencies this policy might bring. The gap was bridged between government policy and the missionaries' apprehension by the appointment of W.C. Groves as the first Director of Education. He was well known and respected by the missionaries. Groves, as Director of Education, determined policy up to 1955 when the objectives were detailed by the Minister for Territories.

TABLE I

Primary School Age Enrolments in PNG-Curriculum Primary Schools by District, 1974

District	Enrolments in PNG-curriculum Schools by District	% of School Age Population
Western	8318	68
Gulf	6541	63
National Capital	7475	62
Central	14713	76
Milne Bay	13902	76
Northern	7279	63
Southern Highlands	13007	43
Eastern Highlands	13032	32
Chimbu	12280	53
Western Highlands	13866	45
Enga	7408	30
Morobe	20957	53
Madang	15749	57
West Sepik	7783	51
East Sepik	18481	57
Manus	2929	65
New Ireland	7446	81
East New Britain	15124	100
West New Britain	9903	79
Bougainville	13334	79
TOTAL:	229527	56

Source:
PNG Department of Education, *Five Year Education Plan 1976-80*, Table 1.1.

In the re-establishment of education in the late 'forties, emphasis had to be placed on primary education. Limits in the finances available to the Department of Education also led Groves to place the priority on the education of the children of the expatriate community. It was considered that since the children of expatriates were primarily orientated to a western civilization, their educational requirements could not be denied. As of June 1948, three-quarters of the expatriate teaching force employed by the government were teaching at thirteen schools established for 690 white and mixed race pupils, while nine expatriate and sixty-six indigenous teachers were employed at twenty-eight schools with 2,108 indigenous pupils (*Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea*, p. 324).

The Australian Labor Government was defeated in the December 1949 elections, and Paul Hasluck became Minister for Territories in 1951. He held the post until 1963 and for twelve years was in a position to directly influence Australia's colonial policies. Soon after his appointment the Minister came to the conclusion that he was unhappy with both the performance of the Department of Education and with Groves as Director. What Hasluck wanted from Groves was a carefully prepared scheme for educational development in the Territories which he could use to make a case for funds to Treasury (Hasluck, 1976:86). Such a scheme was not forthcoming, and Hasluck (ibid.) has subsequently written that:

> I confess that one of my failures as Minister for Territories was in not dealing more ruthlessly with the administration of the Education Department in 1952. If I had done so, the story might have been different. Instead, continuing with Groves, I had to move into the educational field decisively but ignorantly myself and had difficulty both in forming education policy soundly and having it applied effectively.

In a memorandum to the Secretary of the Department of Territories in February 1955, Hasluck set out his own scheme for educational development. In the memorandum he emphasized the goals of mass literacy and universal primary education. He outlined the immediate tasks of the Education Department as being (in Hasluck, 1976:97):

(a) First attention to be given to primary schools with the goal of teaching all children in controlled areas to read and write in English.

(b) For the above purpose,
  (i) efforts to be made to ensure the co-operation of the Christian missions, and,
  (ii) special attention to be given to teacher training.

(c) Manual training and technical training to be developed both in conjunction with the primary schools and in special schools in response to the developing needs of the people.

Because of the emphasis upon mass literacy and universal primary education, Hasluck and his Ministry attracted numerous critics (see for example Murray Groves, 1960; 1962). Basically, the critics of Hasluck's policy wanted to see a more rapid development of secondary and tertiary education which would allow an indigenous elite to emerge. Hasluck wanted to start all Papuans and New Guineans on the same level. Given the unequal distribution of educational opportunities between the various districts, Hasluck feared that the too early development of a narrow elite would lead to their monopolization of the country's political and economic institutions, which would lay the foundation for later regional conflict and separatist movements (Parker, 1966a:245-7).

Spate (1966:124), in referring to the first elections for a House of Assembly in 1964, states that:

> Yet had there been rather less expansion of what were virtually bush schools some fifteen years ago, and in its stead an earlier provision of well-formed secondary schools, it is likely that the Territory would not now be in the paradoxical position of having taken a considerable step towards indigenous responsibility in government before there was a single indigenous university graduate.

In 1965 one Papua New Guinean had taken a B Sc in Agriculture at Sydney and another had qualified for a pass BA in Economics. There were about twelve Papua New Guinean undergraduates in Australian universities.

Papua New Guinea, of course, was not alone among the new states in terms of having experienced rapid political development while simultaneously being severely restricted by the lack of educated manpower. One can draw parallels, at least superficially, between Ashby's comments (1966:357-64) on the development of higher education in the Congolese Republic and the PNG situation. The Belgian colonials left education in the hands of the missionaries who formed a system based on universal primary education. Independence brought a great shock, for there was no trained or established elite to manage the affairs of government. The university established at Mont Amba was constrained in its development, for there was not a well-established system of secondary education from which to draw students. The history of education in Zambia before independence was also one of mission domination and poor development. When Zambia gained independence in 1964 there were only 1,200 full secondary school Certificate holders, 104 Zambians with university degrees, and no university (see Mwanakatwe, 1968:37; and Mwanza, 1979:324).

The situation in the Territories was changing rapidly in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In speaking of the future of the Territories in 1951, Hasluck stated (in Hasluck, 1976:69):

> We will see a better educated native people, a more politically conscious and politically active native population who, very gradually, over a number of generations, will take an increasing interest both in running their own enterprises and in taking a share in their own government.

Hasluck (ibid.) admits himself that "two revealing phrases are 'very gradual' and 'over a number of generations'. That is the way I saw the scene in 1951". In 1960 the Australian Prime Minister, on his return from a Commonwealth conference, said that "it was better for Australia to get out of Papua New Guinea sooner than later" (Woolford, 1976:5). During the early years of Hasluck's Ministry, Australia's efforts in PNG did not attract much international attention, but this was soon to change. By the end of that decade numerous forces began to bring pressure to bear on Australia's colonial policies, for instance, intricate international relations, the cold war, and the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations. Former colonial dependencies in Africa were granted nationhood and became vocal speakers against the colonial domineering practices of other nations (see Hudson, 1970, on Australia's experience at the UN). The Netherlands were pouring vast sums of money into what is now Irian Jaya, in a last ditch effort to save the Territory from the Indonesians. The Dutch were attempting to rapidly develop the educational system in their Territory, and in 1960 they were educating some of the indigenous inhabitants at university level. To the most casual observer, it became apparent that for Australia to continue some of her former colonial policies and attitudes would be diplomatically unwise. But, as we will see in a moment, external forces played only a partial role in effecting the dramatic changes which the Territories were to experience throughout the 1960s.

In 1962 the United Nations Visiting Mission (Sir Hugh Foot, Chairman) admonished the Administration for the slow pace at which educational, political, and constitutional reforms were being introduced in the Territories. The Mission strongly recommended that the first priorities for the development of the Territories should be: (1) the establishment of a House of Assembly, elected by universal indigenous suffrage, and (2) the establishment of secondary and higher education in the Territories to train an indigenous elite to manage the country's affairs.

It is often thought that the report of the "Foot Commission" marked a turning point in the development of PNG, and that little would have changed with regard to Australian colonial policy if it were not for external pressures (see Colebatch, 1968:136-7; Woolford, 1976:5). But this viewpoint is an oversimplification of what actually did occur, and has recently come under challenge. Howie-Willis (1980, Chapter II) points out that Hasluck's emphasis upon universal primary education and his apprehension towards the too early development of an elite have generally been misunderstood. Hasluck's critics have also ignored the positive achievements in the field of education that were brought about during his Ministry. "Hasluck did himself a disservice in insisting on the goal of universal primary education so firmly that he created the erroneous impression that the addition of secondary and tertiary tiers...would only follow the attainment of the goal. That was clearly not his intention..." (Howie-Willis, pp.26-7).

The principles which Hasluck advanced to justify the Administration's educational policies were basically sound especially in terms of the times and the situation. In the Australian House of Representatives in 1957, a critic from the opposition asked Hasluck when his government planned to build high schools in the Territories. In reply, Hasluck stated a number of recurrent themes used in defence of government policy (summarized by Howie-Willis, 1980:26):

> (i) primary education, by force of historical circumstances, was still poorly developed; (ii) an effective system of secondary education depended on a soundly based system of primary education; (iii) the government was gradually extending post-primary education, and would continue to do so, as more students became available after completing their primary schooling, but...(iv) the large-scale expansion of secondary, and later tertiary, education must await the availability of viable numbers of primary school graduates; therefore... (v) major effort must continue to be at the primary level.

Hasluck thought it was impossible to expect that a Papua New Guinean would be able to benefit from university education without first receiving a full eleven years of primary and secondary schooling. He based his plans for the development of education around the Australian model, and thus possibly ignored other viable alternatives (see Hasluck, 1976:88). But, at least in the beginning, Hasluck believed that Australia had several decades in which to develop the Territories and believed the proper way to proceed was from the bottom up. The educational scene at the time Hasluck became Minister for Territories was dismal, indeed. Also, Hasluck and the Department of Education were severely hindered in developing their programmes by the lack of well-trained indigenous teachers — a problem common to nearly every new state (Roe, 1968:129). Even today, two in every five teachers serving in the country's primary schools have themselves had a very meagre education with only one year of professional training.

Though no formal high schools were created in the 1950s, a number of post-primary institutions were established. These schools operated under a variety of titles and by 1957 the government was able to claim, in their official *Annual Report* to the United Nations, the existence of nineteen post-primary schools containing 1,065 students. Moreover, from 1954 the Administration operated a scholarship scheme whereby selected students (approximately twenty per year) were able to attend high schools in Australia. Some of UPNG's first students participated in this scheme.

By 1960 Hasluck himself thought that the educational system had developed to the stage where plans could be made for the accelerated development of secondary and tertiary institutions. Up to 1961, even though the official line on higher education as expressed in the *Annual Report* to the UN was: "There are no universities in the Territory and some years must elapse before their existence can be justified", senior officers in the Administration were pressing for better tertiary education facilities for both indigenous and expatriate personnel. In a minute of 14 April 1961, the Minister wrote (in Hasluck, 1976:387) that it was time to "give urgent and comprehensive attention to the question of administrative training and higher education in the Territory". In May, a committee with J.E. Willoughby as Chairman, was formed to investigate the question.(2) The Committee reported (see *Territory of New Guinea*

Report for 1961-62:145-6) in August 1961 and recommended, among other things that:

a) a central residential administrative college should be established in Port Moresby as soon as possible to cater for the training needs of the Administration and to some extent for those of private enterprise;

b) a university college linked with an Australian university, should be established in Port Moresby not later than 1966;

c) a multi-racial, full-standard teachers' college should set up in the Territory as soon as possible;

d) plans should be made for the provision of a higher technical training institution; and

e) secondary education throughout the Territory should be expanded to bring more indigenous people to university entrance standard.

These recommendations were accepted as a basis for detailed planning. The Administrative College was established and accepted its first students in 1964. The College has served as an important source for indigenous public servants and for creating the very Papua New Guinean elite that critics have claimed Hasluck was so against. The College also served as an important forum for young black politicians. The "Committee of Thirteen" was formed by young black public servants at the College and later became the nucleus for the formation of the Pangu Pati — the political party that led PNG to self-government in 1973 and independence in 1975 (Woolford, 1976:Chapter II).

A university was founded in 1965 in Port Moresby, a year ahead of schedule. However, it was not to be affiliated with an Australian university. After much debate and several setbacks over the idea of a university college in the Territories, Hasluck decided that a commission of inquiry into higher education was required. On 18 March 1963 the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea (Sir George Currie, Chairman) was launched in Canberra. We will presently turn to a discussion of their report.

Woolford (1976:5) states that the recommendations of the Foot Commission in 1962 were "heresies". But the Commission's recommendation that a university be established in the Territories did not dramatically contravene Australian colonial policy on higher education to the degree which is often assumed. This is also true with regard to their recommendation on the immediate establishment of a national parliament. A Legislative Council had been in operation in the Territories since 1951. Admittedly, the first Council was dominated by official members who came from the ranks of the Administration. Even so, it did provide the opportunity for a few Papua New Guineans to participate in the formulation of ordinances. Legislation was adopted in August 1960 to raise the total number of elected members on Council from three to twelve and the number of indigenous members from three to a minimum of eleven. The new Council in 1962 accepted a recommendat-

73

ion that there should be a change in its composition in 1964: "There should be a president and ten official members together with forty-four members elected from a common roll, that in addition there should be ten non-indigenous persons elected from the common roll, as members from reserved electorates, but that this provision should be reviewed before any election in 1967, and that voting should be voluntary...on an individual basis from a common roll..." (Hasluck, 1976:345). Hasluck (p. 397) writes, with regard to the Foot Commission's recommendation, that:

> The relevance of the visiting mission's report and the influence it had was not in shaping Australian policy or changing our judgement on what was best to do but in providing a peg on which I could hang a case in August 1962 for earlier action than the Government had been ready to contemplate in August 1960.

There is no doubt that in the early 1960s there occurred a dramatic change in Australia's policies toward the Territories. In terms of education, there was a shift from primary to secondary and higher education. Hasluck's policy of universal primary education was not to be realised, though universal primary education remains today a high political priority. In 1966, only about one-third of the children aged 7 to 12 years were enrolled in primary schools, and in 1975 the figures remained well below two-thirds of the primary school age population.

But it is questionable whether external pressures were the only forces which promoted change; many of the changes would have eventuated in any case. The growth of the educational system in the 1950s was not spectacular, but there was some development. By the end of the decade, Hasluck and several of his senior officers in the Administration were turning their attention to secondary and higher education. Also, the Ministry and the Administration were beginning to envisage rapid political development. External pressures were not, however, insignificant. Hasluck was, more than anything else, a politician. It would have been political folly in the extreme for him to ignore the mounting criticisms, both in Australia and internationally, of Australia's "go slow", "development from the bottom up" policies of the 1950s. As noted earlier, in PNG there was no aggressive indigenous grassroots campaign for independence. Clearly, if Australia had waited for a popular black movement to develop, political and educational change would have come much more slowly than it did.

But whatever the reasons for Australia's shift in policy, the growth of secondary and tertiary education in PNG since the early 1960s has indeed been rapid. Today, the country supports more than seventy institutions of post-primary education and training. These institutions range from the country's two universities, the Administrative Staff College, colleges of forestry and agriculture, teachers' training colleges, to specialized vocational centres set up within government departments. In the early 1950s the Australian Administration had established two teachers' colleges and some time later, a medical college. It had also established service training schools in selected government departments. But as Australia commenced its colonial disengagement in the 1960s, there was an urgent need for indigenous manpower, which in turn brought about a rapid growth in educational institutions (Brown et al., 1971:27-41).

Due to a variety of factors — not the least of which is the broad base of primary education which was built during Hasluck's Ministry (G. Smith, 1975:35) — the number of Papua New Guinean high school leavers has been steadily increasing, as the figures summarized in Table II indicate. The number of places available in post-primary and technical schools rose from less than 2,000 in 1960, to 14,834 students in 1968, and to over 30,000 students in 1974. Manpower requirements is one of the factors which has helped engender the growth in the secondary sector. But as more Papua New Guineans receive a better education, employers raise the minimum educational standards for employment in many of the job categories (Conroy, 1974:47). This has brought about the classical problem of inflation of educational credentials — where a primary education may have been adequate for employment in a certain job five years ago, it now requires a secondary education. This, of course, instills in the population a belief that there is a nexus between level of education, modern sector employment, and high salaries, which brings about the political demand for more schools.

TABLE II

Form IV High School Leavers (PNG Curriculum Schools only) 1966-74

Year	Total leavers in year		Percentage of cohort completing Form IV	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1966	455	42		
1967	642	85		
1968	831	151	46.5	27.6
1969	1102	234	34.4	21.2
1970	1402	329	39.2	24.9
1971	1518	437	38.6	28.8
1972	1999	777	56.7	44.0
1973	2459	1016	51.5	49.1
1974	2693	1118	54.4	50.2

Source:
PNG Department of Education, *Five Year Education Plan 1976-80*, Table 1.2.

The expansion of the secondary sector of the school system has not been able to keep pace with the number of primary grade school leavers. While 42 per cent of the 1968 students who successfully completed Grade 6 were able to find places in secondary and technical schools, in 1974 only 35 per cent of those students completing a primary education in 1973 were able to do the same. The gap between primary school leavers and Form I enrolments is widening every year. Furthermore, there has been a great increase in school leavers below Form IV (*Five Year Education Plan 1976-80:* 7-8). As has happened in Africa and many of the countries of Asia, the ranks of students seeking worthwhile employment, but with minimal qualifications, are beginning to swell. But still the political demand for more primary schools remains. Primary education in PNG, according to Thomas (1972:124) is not seen as a phase of education in its own right, but merely as a prerequisite for admission to high school. As a result, he sees that:

> Those who fail, and those who pass but are not admitted to high school, either remain in the village — where they frequently do little else but sit around wondering why the world refuses to owe them a living, and causing trouble and concern to the elders of the village — or drift to the towns to compound the problems of unemployment, poverty, over-crowding, crime and misery existing there. In either case, the student's education has not fitted him for either the old life or the new.

Other authors (Conroy, 1974; P. Foster, 1975b) take a less pessimistic view of the situation. Foster (p. 377) writes that:

> At present, we must accept the fact that in early and middle stages of development, imparities in education and other types of provision usually increase and that growing inequality in the allocation of resources and levels of well-being will occur.

Foster contends that the unemployment of the educated youth in a new state is not the problem it is usually considered to be. In fact, he believes this group of people migrate to the urban centres and become a force for change and economic development. Foster (p. 381) asks:

> Are we to assume that the majority [of the educated unemployed]...do nothing while slowly starving to death? I think not. The majority will, in fact, find intermittent or full-time employment or be self-employed in precisely that sector that is *not* recorded by official agencies... Whether we term it the "murky" sector, the "quasi-traditional" sector...or what, it has become one of the most crucial growing points in an economy.

Foster's contentions have a number of implications for curriculum design, government support of education, and for the general development of education in new states. His propositions have been hotly debated in PNG and elsewhere (see Brammall and May, 1975; Pettman and Weeks, 1978; Carnoy, 1975; Devon, 1975; Belle, 1975; and Petty, 1975). We will not enter into the debate here, but the reader should be made aware that the problem of youth unemployment in PNG and its association with education is a complex and contentious issue requiring more research.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN, EDUCATED ELITE

In terms of numbers of any size, the selection and education of a PNG elite got under way only fifteen to twenty years ago. Higher education is a scarce resource enjoyed by only a privileged few. The progression through the tiers of the education system is depicted by a high wastage rate and severe selectivity. Only about 60 per cent of the children eligible to enrol in Grade I do so, while only 55 per cent of the children between ages seven and twelve years are enrolled in secondary high schools and technical colleges (Forms I to IV). The country's two senior high schools (Forms V to VI) contain only 1 per cent of the males and 0.4 per cent of the females of that age group. On all levels, a greater percentage of males are afforded the privilege of education than females.

For those who commence school, the risks of failure are high, but so are the rewards for success. In a country where the majority of the inhabitants exist outside the modern economic sector and are mostly subsistence farmers, wage comparisons serve only to highlight obvious disparities. A few examples make the situation blatantly clear. The Form IV school leaver is employed at an annual commencing salary approximately two to three times that of the urban minimum wage ($400). The Form VI school leaver can expect a salary fifteen times that of the urban minimum wage, while the university graduate is most likely to be recruited to a position which will provide a salary of more than twenty times the minimum wage. In 1972 it was estimated that the average per capita cash crop income in the more advanced rural areas was about $29 per annum; the university graduate can expect to earn one to three hundred times the wage of the average indigenous inhabitant of PNG.

It is not only wages which differentiates the PNG educated elite from the mass of their fellow countrymen, but also their lifestyle, values, attitudes, and level of participation in the consumer-orientated sector of the society. The values, attitudes, and lifestyle which students construct while at the University have a direct impact upon the structure of modern PNG society. Such factors as these, even more so than the subjects studied and skills learnt, will help to determine if the UPNG graduate plays a beneficial or detrimental role in the development of the nation.

The University of Papua New Guinea is, of course, only one of several institutions which has participated in the production of a Papua New Guinean elite. The University of Technology and the Administrative Staff College also serve as major training grounds for those who now (and will in the future) manage the country's affairs. And, as we stated earlier, this is the precise function of these institutions: to produce an educated elite, that is, to train doctors, lawyers, senior public servants, engineers, and other professionals.

The term "elite" is often misconstrued and used to denote a group of people who are self-serving in the sense that they dominate a country's major political and economic institutions for their own personal gain. An elite may behave in this manner, and there is much evidence to suggest that elites in a variety of nations (in both old and new states) are self-serving. Though many of the informants who provided data for this study use the term "elite" in a pejorative or ideological sense, the term is used by the author to categorise those groups and individuals who occupy the top echelon positions within a social structure; it is not used to denote their behaviour, values, and attitudes. Moreover, within any one national elite there exists a multiplicity of values and behaviour patterns (Lipset and Solari, 1967:*vii-viii*).

SUMMARY

In order that independence could be brought about in PNG, Australia rapidly built a superstructure of western institutions. At the same time Australia commenced training, within these same institutions, a cadre of Papua New Guineans to manage an independent nation. In the Introduction it was suggested that the speed with which political and social change was able to occur in PNG may have been due to the fact that few of the indigenous societies had extended political systems. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the meaning of these new institutions to the average Papua New Guinean and the nature of their long-term effect on the indigenous peoples, depend on the decisions and actions of the country's educated elite.

It is inevitable that newly introduced foreign institutions are changing the basic patterns of life in PNG — they were founded for this very purpose. These institutions introduce an entirely new element into the PNG social context and in this sense it is futile to discuss their relevance in terms of previous forms of indigenous social organization. There was not, for example, any Melanesian model on which to structure a university. Nor was there a group of Papua New Guinean graduates to advise the government on the structural arrangements for the new university. Moreover, it is quite likely that the indigenous peoples, especially the first UPNG students, would have felt slighted by any university model that deviated too drastically from the Australian one. By pure necessity, UPNG had to be imported "lock, stock and barrel".

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Because the first task was to train indigenous administrators and bureaucrats, the university gave priority to subjects in the Arts Faculty. What was first required in PNG was the indigenous administrator with a generalist background of higher education. This has produced a high level of internal strain between the science and non-science members of staff. Also, as the requirement in PNG for the administrator with a generalist education is fulfilled, the university must reassess its priorities. But once a university's structure, orientation of staff and finances are channelled in one direction it is, indeed, a most difficult task to re-order priorities.

The discussion in this Chapter has attempted to describe the educational and social context into which a new university was to be introduced. We will now look in detail at what was created by the foundation of a university in PNG. The historical context placed restrictions on what could and could not be accomplished by PNG's first university. Even so, within the given restrictions those who founded UPNG searched for certain innovative approaches to higher education, attempted to make the institution relevant to the needs of indigenous students, and created an institution with a quite distinctive character.

NOTES

1. Before 1975, the island generally known as "New Guinea", was divided into three distinct territories — West Irian (formerly Dutch New Guinea), Papua and New Guinea — through the consequence of political boundaries imposed by foreign powers. With the approaching independence of the Territories east of the 141st parallel, heated discussion over the naming of the would-be nation occurred. Attempts were made to unite "Papua" and "New Guinea" under the name Nuigini, with the inhabitants called Nuiginians. Though many contemporary authors use this terminology, the name of the country Nuigini was strongly resisted by the peoples of Papua. ("Nuigini" is pidgin English, the lingua franca of New Guinea, not Hiri Motu, the lingua franca of Papua). Thus, the country under discussion has come to be officially named Papua New Guinea.
2. The Committee was called "The Committee on the Development of Tertiary Education and Higher Training in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea". Its members were J.E. Willoughby (first assistant secretary in the Department of Territories), E.J. [illegible] (first assistant secretary in the Prime Minister's Department), C.D. Rowley (principal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration), and L. Newby (head of Extension Services in Papua and New Guinea).

CHAPTER VII

THE INSTITUTION AND ITS EXOGENOUS ENVIRONMENT

FOUNDATION

> The standing of a University does not depend on the quality of its buildings, nor on the spaciousness of its campus, nor on its size and output of graduates, but upon the standard of its scholars, their ability as teachers and the contribution they make to the world of learning...
>
> Although so new, we have already attracted scholars respected in the world of learning as foundation members of our University community. Our physical plans — engineering and architectural — are advancing, our requirements are modest and functional...
>
> It is germane to comment in this first Handbook that the University was started as a matter of some urgency and that the staff and students in its first year have had to accept harsh conditions. In doing so they have already created traditions of pioneering, of using initiative and of accepting the need for improvisation.
>
> J.T. Gunther
> *UPNG Handbook* 1967

In 1963 "The Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea" — the Currie Commission — consisting of Sir George Currie, Chairman, Professor O.H.K. Spate, and Dr J.T. Gunther,(1) was appointed to investigate further the needs for higher education in the Territory. The authors submitted their report in March 1964 and recommended the establishment of an *autonomous* university and an institute of higher technical education at Port Moresby. They urged that this be done immediately and that a preliminary year for the University be introduced beginning in 1964. However, the Australian Government was not to take action until twelve months later.

The Currie Commission (pp. 59-60) was adamant that the new university to be established in PNG would be autonomous:

> The Commission has no hesitation in recommending that it should be a full and autonomous university from the very start. The strongest, if not indeed the only argument in favour of the approach by way of a university college is that this would maintain reasonably high standards; the Commission fully shares the concern for standards, but feels that they can be maintained by other measures of association with the Australian academic community. The Australian experience suggests that the 'guidance' given by a parent university to a university college can be frustrating as well as helpful; and if this can be so for two institutions within a single Australian State, it seems bound to be so, to a much higher degree, as between two institutions separated by much greater distances and in totally dissimilar environments. We are convinced, also, that it would be much easier to attract really good staff to an independent university than to a subordinate college; the type of man needed is one who will wish to build up something of his own rather than one who will be content to accept remote control.

The Currie Commission (p. 8) recognized the political importance of a university in PNG. They saw the most urgent internal need for a university was "to train indigenous cadres to take over in due time a wide range of functions now carried on almost exclusively by expatriates, or initially to supplement expatriate positions..." The Papua New Guineans who reported to the Commission stressed the utilitarian value of university education and the need for training so that they could take over from the white Australians.

The Commission affirmed that a university in PNG should take on a utilitarian cast, but it also stressed the internationally recognizable characteristics of university education and some of the more esoteric values on which such characteristics are based. The Commission reported (p. 6) that higher education would:

> ...have to receive a strong pragmatic cast, essentially practical and applied. To build an ivory tower (it would probably turn out plastic anyhow) and to shrink from the mundane concerns of the marketplace would be to repeat errors made long ago, perhaps most notably in India. It may be noted that the intellectual tradition of India was highly favourable to this fallacy; the desires of the people of Papua and New Guinea run if anything too strongly counter to it. For this emphasis, necessary as it is, should not be allowed to degenerate in turn into a mechanical utilitarianism; that would be a mere return to the materialistic magic of the cargo cult. *To marry the wider and more humanist elements, essential to manage the no less essential technological component in a context of truly human relations — this will be the most subtly difficult task of the future educators of Papua and New Guinea* (emphasis added).

The Commissioners, in considering the "type" of university to be introduced in PNG, recommended adaptations to the basic Australian model of higher education. The most important innovation suggested was that the University teach a preliminary year (a year of teaching by university staff designed to bridge the gap between Form IV education and university matriculation). But other recommendations also deviated from the typical Australian pattern, for instance, that the University be fully residential and that indigenous students receive full scholarships. Nevertheless, the basic university structure recommended in the report, reproduced in Figure II, was — by necessity, for there was no Melanesian model of higher education — a form of organization more familiar to the Australian professor than to the average PNG citizen.

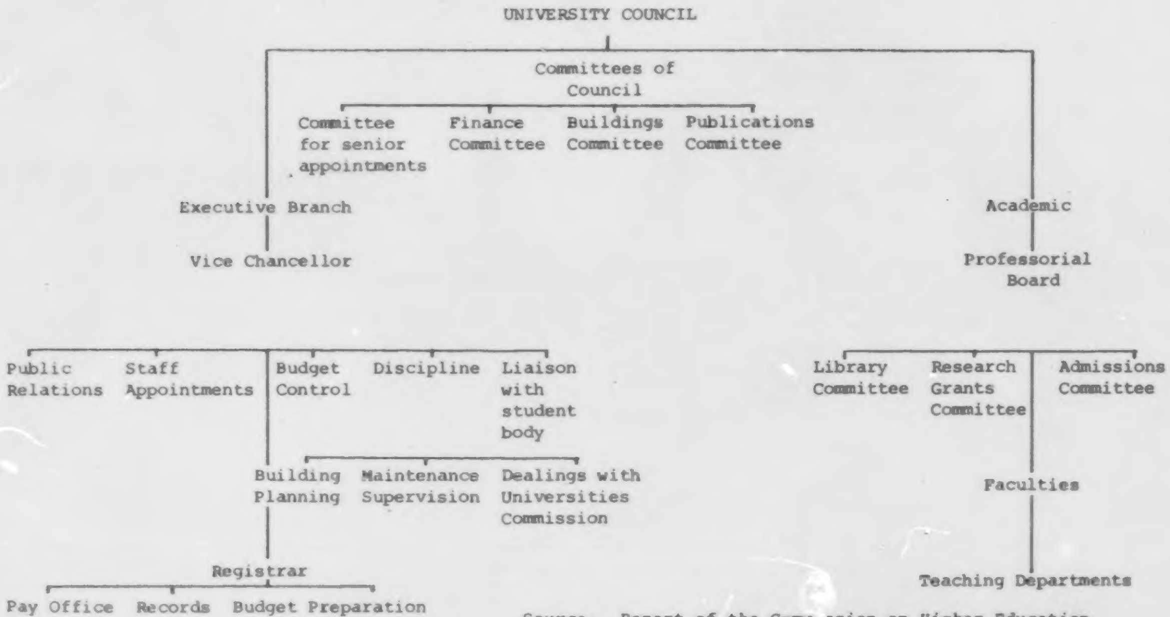
The Currie Report was considered in July 1964 by the Australian Cabinet. Cabinet supported the establishment of the Institute of Higher Technical Education, but preferred to refer the university proposal to a sub-committee (the "Inter-Departmental Committee on the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea") for further consideration.

Almost immediate approval was given to the establishment of the Institute of Higher Technical Education. The Institute was something the Ministers could readily understand. Also, technical training at diploma level was something the Government thought Papua New Guineans could accomplish. However, there was some doubt over the idea of a university, and the need for PNG degree graduates at that time.(2) The high ranking bureaucrats in the Department of Territories were in favour of manpower training with regard to technical needs in PNG. But they were not convinced that the Territories were ready for a university.(3) However, there was strong public opinion in Australia for a university in PNG, especially through the Council of Papua and New Guinea Affairs.

The Review Committee did support the establishment of a university at Port Moresby, but made a few substantial alterations to some of the Currie recommendations. Two of the most important were the trimming of projected enrolments for 1970 from 830 to 575, and the rejection of the proposal that the University be able to seek funds directly from Canberra through formal links with the Australian Universities Commission. The latter alteration was justified by the desire of the Treasury Department that funds should not be allocated through several different sources, and the reasoning that since PNG was rapidly heading towards independence, it would be unwise for the University to receive special consideration outside the general grant allocated to the Department of the Administrator in the Territories. But underlying such justifications was the fact that the Department of Territories was taking an active interest in the development of higher education in PNG and, through the control of funds, the development of the institutions could be more closely scrutinized.

In March 1965 the Minister for Territories announced that the University would be established. In line with recommendations made by the Currie Report, the University and the Institute were established with separate councils, but sharing the same site and central facilities such as the library.

Figure II: Recommended University Structure (abbreviated)


UNIVERSITY COUNCIL
Committees of Council
Committee for senior appointments
Finance Committee
Buildings Committee
Publications Committee
Executive Branch
Vice Chancellor
Academic
Professorial Board
Public Relations
Staff Appointments
Budget Control
Discipline
Liaison with student body
Building Planning
Maintenance Supervision
Dealings with Universities Commission
Registrar
Pay Office
Records
Budget Preparation
Library Committee
Research Grants Committee
Admissions Committee
Faculties
Teaching Departments

Source: *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea*, p. 231.

The Interim Council of the University was created and Professor P. Karmel, now chairman of the new Australian Tertiary Education Commission and then Vice-Chancellor of Flinders University, was appointed Chairman. The remaining membership of the Interim Council was representative of both local and Australian interests in higher education. The 1967 Interim Council consisted of (1) members elected by the House of Assembly (Horace Niall, MHA, and Lepani Watson, MHA); (2) members ex officio (the Vice-Chancellor, G.T. Gunther, and the Director of Education, Kenneth McKinnon), (3) members appointed by the Minister for Territories (Basil Fairfax-Ross, Director of Bougainville Copper Pty Ltd.; Gordon Greenwood, Professor of History, University of Queensland; Basil Hetzel, Foundation Professor of Social and Preventative Medicine, Monash University; Leslie Johnson, Assistant Administrator; John Lloyd, Australian businessman; James Matheson, Vice-Chancellor, Monash University; the Hon Mr. Justice Minogue, PNG Supreme Court Judge; Claude Reseigh, member of the Department of External Territories; Oskar Spate, Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University; Zure Zurecnuoc, MHA) and (4) two professors from UPNG. With the establishment of the first Council in December 1968, Karmel was elected the first Chancellor of UPNG. The Interim Council held its first meeting on 5 October 1965. At this meeting the Council assessed the need for higher education in PNG as so urgent that time could not be spared for either the construction of buildings or long-range academic planning. A time span of only four months separated the first meeting of the Interim Council and the enrolment of the University's first students. Urgency, rather than leisurely debate over appropriate and innovative academic forms and structures, was the driving force behind the establishment of UPNG.

The first task that faced the Interim Council was to attract staff of "quality". Professor Karmel, in his acceptance letter as Chairman of the Interim Council (30 June 1965), wrote that "In order to attract academic staff of quality, it will be necessary to offer salaries which are effectively higher than the corresponding salaries in Australian universities".(4) Up to 1973 academic salaries at UPNG were tied to those of Australia. And the majority of staff first attracted to the new University were "of quality", especially in the social sciences and humanities. Eight Foundation chairs were advertised. The departments created followed closely the recommendations of the Currie Commission: Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Economics, Geography, Education, English Language, History, Law, and Mathematics.

On 7 February 1966 the Vice-Chancellor was appointed, and appointments were made of Librarian, Professor of Biology, Professor of English Language, and Professor of History. Soon after appointments were made to the following chairs: Mathematics, Chemistry, Education, Economics, Geography, and Law. It was decided to create a Foundation chair in Social Anthropology, which was soon filled, as was a chair in Political Studies. Also, a physicist was appointed at Associate Professor level.

Of the early appointments, the crucial one was that of Vice-Chancellor. In the consideration of applicants for the Vice-Chancellorship, there was some concern over the specific attributes which should be attached to the man who would hold such a position.

An academic, interested in the development of higher education in PNG outlined in a letter to Karmel a few of the issues involved in the selection of a Vice-Chancellor:(5)

> The Vice-Chancellor here [PNG] will have to struggle with the Department of Territories for the University's funds and for its freedom: he must therefore be a tough and astute politician. He will have to arouse enthusiasm for the university among a population to whom such an institution is largely meaningless at present: he must therefore command at least their respect, and preferably their affection. He will need to foster among his staff special enthusiasms, pedagogical skills, and imaginative innovations, not customarily required of Australian university teachers: he should therefore have charismatic authority over his staff. The best man for this job would probably be the kind of man who might be appointed president of a lively American college, rather than the kind of man usually appointed Vice-Chancellor of an Australian university.

In searching for a Vice-Chancellor, the Interim Council considered several well-known academics. But a move developed to draft Dr J.T. Gunther, himself a member of the Selection Committee. The reasons for the consideration of Gunther are generally those outlined above. A man was needed with great administrative drive, an understanding and experience of the country and its indigenous peoples, eminence as a scholar or as a public figure, and possibly more than anything else, a man with the ability, toughness, and skill to build a university in the face of adversity.

Dr Gunther (a medical practitioner) was a man with more than twenty years experience in PNG and with the Territories colonial Administration. In an interview with Dr Gunther(6) I asked why he was willing to leave the Administration to accept the Vice-Chancellorship:

> I was drafted. I had spent 6 to 7 years in the Public Health Service in PNG and then 6 to 7 years in the Administration. Six years in one job is long enough and I was looking for something else. Also, I did not get the job I wanted in the Administration, that was the job of Administrator. I could see I was being phased out. The Vice-Chancellorship had never occurred to me before I was approached. I did not know a damn thing about it. When I was a member of the Currie Commission I never thought of being Vice-Chancellor. But when approached I thought it would be a good thing. I have always had a job where the task was to build: I am a builder. I thought it would be an interesting job.

There was some public opposition to the appointment of Gunther, for some were suspicious of the Vice-Chancellor coming from the ranks of the Administration. His appointment was interpreted as a move by the Australian government to closely control the University and its development. Such fears were soon to be dispelled, as is apparent from one staff member's (Griffin, 1976:112-3) affectionate, though cautious memories of Gunther's reign:

> Dr Gunther gave UPNG much more than administrative drive, respectability in the face of settler yahooism and formidability in the face of bureaucratic snipers. His familiarity with the ways of the Administration enabled him to protect university autonomy without displays of tetchy paranoia... He was cautious in the face of his own academic inexperience and did not, in general, usurp the proper functions of faculties and Professorial Board. He was far from tentative, however, in his insistence on decisions. He denied no one a hearing but an importuner might leave his office with his ears ringing.

In February 1966, the University took its first students, fifty-two males and six females, into a preliminary year. The University shared facilities with the Administrative College until it received its own buildings in 1969. In 1967 degree work was begun and the University enrolled eighty-three candidates for the undergraduate programme.

THE EXOGENOUS ENVIRONMENT

One of the more dramatic effects which the University had on the external environment was in helping to spark an almost immediate change in the colonial customs and attitudes that governed the social relationship between "black" and "white". The first indigenous students who enrolled at the University were among the best educated and articulate of their countrymen, and they were not prepared to accept the blatantly discriminatory practices of some Europeans living in the Territory. Nearly all the expatriates who first came to work for the University were Europeans, and of these the majority were of Australian nationally. But the expatriates at the University brought to PNG values and attitudes that contrasted sharply with those held by certain segments of the expatriate population already established in the Territory. Many of the plantation owners and urban businessmen living within the Territory were highly conservative and reactionary in many of their political and social beliefs. Members of the University commenced to challenge these beliefs.

It would be false, however, to imply that there was a homogeneous expatriate community in PNG at the time of the University's establishment. Rather, there were many different "types" of expatriates expressing a multiplicity of values and attitudes. And, of course, the University had a more favourable reception among some expatriate groups than among others. Many teachers, missionaries, and public servants welcomed the establishment of the University. It has already been briefly mentioned that for several years before the Currie Report, several senior public servants within the Administration were campaigning for more education and responsibility for indigenous members of the society. It is significant to note that J.T. Gunther, a member of the Currie Commission and the first Vice-Chancellor of UPNG, was Director of Public Health in PNG 1949-56 and Assistant Administrator 1957-66. No one can doubt that Gunther, as one member of the expatriate community, supported and encouraged the establishment of a university in PNG. Also, numerous public servants and other expatriates living in PNG physically expressed their support for the University by enrolling as students.

But the feeling among other expatriate groups was that the University was a threatening innovation. Some Europeans harboured a vague fear that Papua New Guineans would somhow be corrupted and misled by university education, or more specifically, by Australian academics. The journal *Black and White*, edited by an European and published in Port Moresby, called the students "'half-baked idiots who, by virtue of their attendance of a university whose degrees mean nothing, will set themselves up as intellectual and social leaders of their own people...'" (in Inglis, 1968:4). The journal also compared the University to a "'badly managed chook farm'" in which "' by the time any eggs are gathered, they'll all be rotten'" (ibid.:5). Even in the late 1960s social attitudes and practices which were based on a notion of white supremacy still lingered in PNG. Certain hotel bars were racially segregated. Social clubs and hotel bars, once the province of "whites only" were integrated by Papua New Guinean students often accompanied by their University lecturers. The Foundation Professor of History commented in 1968 (ibid.:2) on the changing clientele of the beer garden of the Boroko Hotel:

> One student remarked to me last July [1967] that when he came to Moresby as a member of the first preliminary year in 1966, only Australians drank there; then he and a few students began to patronise it, and now there were sometimes as many natives as expatriates sitting in it. This may or may not be progress, but it is change.

It was more than a novel thought in the then Territory to treat Papua New Guineans as one's social equals. Academics and University administrators entertained students in their homes and formed a variety of relationships with them hitherto unheard of in the country. For many of the expatriates living in PNG at that time, the only "home" contact with Papua New Guineans was in the nature of giving orders to their *hausbois*.(7) Before 1966 a Papua New Guinean man who had married a white woman was rare indeed. At the University, sexual relationships (both marital and extra-marital) between "black" men and "white" women were to become a common occurrence. On an emotional level, this practice probably represented a more direct challenge to past colonial customs than any other.

But the changes which were occurring to past colonial attitudes and customs did not excite a great deal of conflict in the community at large. The mere rapidity with which notions of European supremacy and certain sexual taboos became anachronisms, probably indicates that the society was already receptive to many of these changes. The University was at once a "catalyst" for change and a primary force. Sport serves as an example of how quickly, in the latter half of the 1960s, social barriers were being broken down. Inglis (1968:2) observes that:

> When one of the football teams played against the only all-white team in the competition, there were Australian supporters of that team who called from the boundary to the students such terms of address as "Rock Apes" and "Wash Boys". But when the students twice defeated this team and won the premiership several of the students were at once invited to play next year in the previously all-white team.

In any case the more conservative and reactionary elements of the expatriate community were not in a position to offer effective opposition to the University's development. The major source of external friction in the smooth development of the University came from Canberra — or more precisely, from the Minister and Department of Territories. The Department of Territories in Canberra attempted to influence policy through the Territory Administration. Parker (1966b:196) succinctly summarizes the relationship between the Administration and Department of Territories:

> The Administrator has "the duty of administering the Government of the Territory on behalf of the Commonwealth", but geographical proximity to Australia and modern communications have enabled his role...to be confined within much narrower limits than that of a Governor in a traditional British colony. Though he has the right of direct access to the Minister, his more important decisions are normally subject to Canberra approval or recommendations submitted through the offices of the Department of Territories.

In order to highlight the early relationship between the University and the Department of Territories, we will trace through four major issues of the time: entry permits for non-European academics, the move of the Institute of Higher Technical Education to Lae, the foundation of the Medical faculty, and strife over funding.

Through these four "case studies in conflict" we will attempt to describe the main characteristics of the relationship between the University and government. The Department of Territories was inclined to think of the new University as a statutory authority under the auspices of the Administration. From the outset, those who were to build UPNG saw for themselves a special "mission" in PNG. The first and most urgent task was to provide indigenous students with the best possible forms of education that would allow them to effectively take over the top positions within the public service. Members considered that the best form of education could be offered by an autonomous university. The mission was to pioneer in PNG an *autonomous* institution — a self-governing community with sound academic standards and free from the interference of the colonial bureaucrat.

At the time of the University's conception, there was an attitude held by some members of the Australian academic community that the most a university in PNG could hope for was mediocrity. The first members of staff felt they would need to prove mistaken those Australian academics who held such opinions about the new institution. The UPNG saga is based on the "heroic exploits" of those who, while building a university in PNG, renounced Australian colonialism and proved to the Australian academic community that it was possible to establish a distinctive, autonomous university in PNG. More important than the specific events described below are the attitudes and opinions of those involved.

During the first few months of the University's existence, its relationship with the Department of Territories was all "milk and honey" according to the Vice-Chancellor. The Minister for Territories (C.E. Barnes) believed that the government had in Karmel a "reasonable" man who would conform to the government's point of view.(8) But it was soon apparent that Karmel intended to support the University and its development to the full. Also, once staff began to arrive in Port Moresby, the Department of Territories realized that they were going to make critical comments with regard to Australia's colonial policies.

Barnes, a member of the right-wing Country Party, was a stubborn man and by many accounts a reactionary conservative (Inglis, 1980:62). One example of attempted government interference in University affairs was in regard to some early non-Australian staff appointments, especially appointees of non-European nationality. Karmel, before accepting the position of Chairman of the Interim Council, had discussions with officers of the Department of Territories and it was agreed that the University would make appointments without previous reference to the Department of Territories or the Administration. Appointments were made upon academic grounds alone (at least in principle) and candidates were not subject to security checks by selection committees. In contrast, at the Administrative College, a person had to have a security clearance before he was appointed (Inglis, 1968:4). Of course, the Administration had the power to refuse anybody an entry permit.

The immigration authorities in Port Moresby would ask the University when a non-British subject was appointed, whether there was not a British subject as suitable. Of course, the University's reply was that British subjects were never given preference and the most suitable applicant available at the time was the one appointed.(9) However, there were some inordinate delays in granting entry permits and in renewing resident permits of non-European nationals. The following press release by the UPNG staff association, dated 17 March 1970, summarizes the situation. The specific issue was the delay in granting a permit to an academic, Dr I.H. Khan who was of Indian citizenship; but it is the general tone and overall critique of the statement which is of concern here:(10)

> The Staff Association is delighted that the Minister for External Territories has at last granted permissive residency to Dr I.H. Khan. The question still remains however, why the long delays and is there going to be a reoccurrence of this callous and unnecessary treatment

every time a coloured member of staff applies for a residency permit?

The Minister still has made no comment on our pleas that:

1. The executive of the Territory should make decisions on who can come into the country. Is the House of Assembly and the Administrator's Executive Council so lacking in political acumen and so incompetent that they cannot make this sort of decision? Should a paternalistic Minister be the sole authority on who is to enter this country?

2. Permissive residency permits be granted for the length of contract or three years, whichever is the shorter. Is it necessary for coloured staff, just because they are coloured, to go through the humiliation of annual applications?

3. Coloured staff in the University of Papua and New Guinea be treated with the same consideration and courtesy as those in Australian Universities.

4. The Minister realizes that whatever threat of inter-racial conflict there is in Papua and New Guinea stems from the presence of 42,000 whites and a small minority of Chinese already in the Territory. An additional three or even twenty skilled scholars cannot be a stimulus to inter-racial conflict.

There were other touchy cases similar to the above. But never did the government refuse entry to an appointed academic, though strong public opinion against the Minister and Department of Territories had to be applied in some cases, along with accusations of racial discrimination.

Very early in the University's development, Canberra became suspicious of the University and saw it as a possible political thorn. There was a feeling that the University should not become too large; and, in this respect its growth was limited. The Currie Commission envisaged that many tertiary institutions in PNG would become the responsibility of the University, either through absorption into the institution or through special relationships. The amalgamation of Goroka Teachers College, the Papuan Medical College, the Administrative College, and the then Institute of Higher Technical Education, with the University was proposed by the Currie Commission and accepted in principle by the Interim Council. A Faculty of Medicine was created and the Papuan Medical College was absorbed by the University in 1971, though not until a bitter public battle between the University and the Department of Territories decided the issue. Goroka Teachers College became part of the University in 1975. But neither the Administrative College nor the Institute were to be formally associated with the University.(11) A description of the factors behind the move of the Institute of Higher Technical Education to Lae, some 150 miles from Port Moresby, is germane to the discussion.(12)

The Department of Territories saw the primary need for trained manpower in PNG as being in the technical sphere. Thus, the Institute of Higher Technical Education was to be given priority in its development. The first funds provided by Australia, through the Administration, were to be shared between the two institutions. The Administrator wrote the Chairman of the Interim Council in June 1966 that:(13)

> The Secretary [Department of Territories] states that in approving [funds], the Minister directed that in accordance with the Government decision approving the setting up of the institutions, in the division of funds between the University and Institute, the Institute is to be given a higher priority for expenditure essential to its establishment than the University.

This policy was rejected by both the Chairman of the Interim Council and the Vice-Chancellor. In Karmel's reply to the above in July 1966, he states that the funds granted are the bare minimum with which the University can be established: "accordingly, the Council decided to make no arrangements for consultation with the Council of the Institute of Higher Technical Education over the division of funds".(14)

The University was a thriving institution while the Institute had yet to establish itself. This had a great deal to do with the position and personality of Gunther and Karmel. Gunther's long years of experience in the Administration provided him with many political and government connections. When the University would receive a report from the Administration, Gunther would know who wrote it. He knew how far he could push certain people in soliciting decisions favourable to the University from the Administration. But more importantly, he knew how decisions were made by both the PNG Administration and Canberra. Karmel carried much prestige and authority in the Australian academic world and had a distinct knack for getting things accomplished. Both men were in a much stronger position in dealing with the government than their counterparts at the Institute. Duncanson, the Institute Director, was an able and experienced head of technological institutions, but lacked political knowledge of how things worked in PNG and Canberra. Sir Herbert Watkin, the Chairman of the Institute Council, died in August 1966, barely more than a year after being appointed, and in that time very little had been accomplished to make the Institute functional. UPNG, on the other hand, was about to graduate its first preliminary year students and commence degree courses.

After only a few meetings of the joint UPNG-Institute Committee on site development, it became obvious that some animosity between the two institutions existed. Gunther perceived of the University as the superior institution, while Duncanson and other members of the Institute Council thought there should be a partnership between complementary and equal institutions. The Institute Council made two proposals: one, that the land for site development be vested in a Board of Trustees, and two, that an ad hoc joint committee from the two institutions be responsible for joint planning and for the division of funds, and for other matters.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

one: "that the standard of qualifications and course duration should continue to be appropriate to Territory conditions and resources".

The University opposed the degree of control this principle would give to outside government bodies. Gunther elaborates, in a letter to a member of the University's Council:(18)

> During the course of the discussion in the Interim Council, Mr C.E. Reseigh, who I believe is the spokesman for the Department of External Territories, made it quite clear that what was meant by 'standard appropriate to Territory conditions and resources' was that it was 'not Australian-University standards'. My personal view is that we cannot allow either the Department of Public Health or, more particularly, officers of the Department of External Territories to determine the standard to which we teach.

Standards per se were not at issue, but control was. Gunther believed that the University should resist "by all means" any interference with University standards and that decisions upon standards were the sole province of the Professorial Board. Gunther writes:(19)

> Comparing what you teach in Medicine and how you teach it in UPNG with Australian standards is really meaningless, but the principle four, in my view, allows somebody outside the University to usurp the duties and functions of the Faculty and the Professorial Board.

At the end of 1968 the Administrator wrote to Gunther in regard to the principle which referred to standard and duration of medical courses. He gave his assurance that "this was not intended to represent an inflexible position as far as the present course is concerned, *nor* was it *intended as a direction to the* University as to how or what it *should teach*".(20)

This satisfied the University. The Director of the PMC was asked by the University to prepare a document outlining the amalgamation of the PMC with the University. In March 1969 a document, which seemingly had the approval of the University, the Administration, and Sir Leslie Melville (the Administrator's adviser on University matters), was presented to government with the assumption that the PMC would be absorbed by the University. However, there was no reply to the submission until 28 November 1969, when the Minister simply announced that the PMC would not become a faculty of the University. The Vice-Chancellor was not directly informed of the decision but learnt of it through the press.

It seems Barnes wished to retain firm control of medical training in PMC through the Department of Health. The reasons, outlined in a letter from the Administrator, for not accepting the submission that the Papuan Medical College become a faculty of the University were:(21)

1. that because the Department of Public Health was almost entirely responsible for the health services, it should retain control of training resources; and,
2. it did not wish to encumber the University with a large school, which could only add to the University's problems.

On 3 December 1969, the Minister for Territories issued a press release in which he gave additional reasons for rejecting the proposal:(22)

1. it was essential that the Government be able to determine the number and standards of doctors required to carry out the many programmes necessary to improve health and life expectancy in the Territory; and,
2. that the University had made a condition that it should have complete independence in determining staffing and content and the length of the medical course.

But the Minister was poorly advised by his information officers; they misjudged public opinion. There were strong reactions in the press, both in the Territory and in Australia, against the government's decision. The University's Council protested to the Minister in very strong terms and asked Barnes to receive a deputation from the University. After some resistance, a deputation was received (consisting of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and a member of Council who in addition, was Professor of Medicine at Monash). The deputation informed the Minister that unless something was done, the Australian Medical Association was prepared to make a statement — the University's most effective threat. The Minister said he would refer the matter to the Administrator's Executive Council (AEC). The Vice-Chancellor asked the Minister if he could have his assurance that the Department of Territories would accept the AEC's decision; the Minister replied in the positive.

Once again Barnes was poorly advised. He believed that the AEC would also reject the proposal. But the AEC endorsed the proposal that the PMC become a faculty of the University. Barnes accepted their decision and thus the University had won another round of battle with the Department of Territories. The University's most effective weapon was, once again, its ability to put an articulate and acceptable argument to the public and to appropriate Australian professional bodies. Freedom and autonomy were established as basic symbols of the University. Members were able to use these symbols quite effectively in justifying their actions to the public.

An attitude was being established that in matters of higher education in PNG the "University knew better" than the colonial Administration or the Department of Territories. The University was pioneered during an era when colonialism was more of a liability than an asset for the mother country. The Commonwealth was vulnerable to political pressure in PNG; members of the

University community played a significant role in helping raise the political consciousness of the country's inhabitants. Directly, members of the University criticized colonialism in academic journals, in the classroom, in public lectures, and in the popular press. But the most significant effect of the University on PNG political and social affairs was more indirect. Members of the University community were setting an example to the Papua New Guinean people, especially to the young political activists, that the power of the Australian government could be challenged and in some cases, defeated. Moreover, the University, because of the extremely conservative and retarded development of education in the past, was one of the few, if not the only autonomous institution in PNG to set such an example.

Some of the more bitter public debates between the University and government concerned financial issues. Though the Currie Commission recommended that funds for the University should come directly from Canberra, through the Australian Universities Commission, the Cabinet sub-committee which examined the Currie Report rejected such an arrangement. The University had to compete with other agencies for resources in the Administration's annual budget(23) and by 1968 the University was already unable to find room for many qualified students. Inglis (p. 6), while acting Vice-Chancellor, wrote in 1968: "So at a time when there were only four indigenous university graduates in the whole country we had to take fewer students than we were willing and able to teach". Inglis (pp. 6-7), in a public speech to the New Guinea Society of Victoria, explained the problem at length:

> Our budget request for 1968-69 was for a total of $4.5 million for all purposes, capital and recurrent. This seemed to us, after some hard pruning, to be the minimum on which we could work towards the kind of institution envisaged by the Commonwealth when it accepted the responsibility to set up a university with high standards. Our present advice is that we are likely to get much less than we believe we need for 1968-69 and again for 1969-70. We may have not only to restrict our enrolments and to abandon or postpone plans for development; we may have also to reduce the quality of our actual operations...
>
> It is February now, and we do not know how much money we will be getting for the financial year 1968-69. The procedure is that we know informally by about April how much we are likely to get and formally and finally when the Territory budget is submitted to the House of Assembly in August. We get official news of our grant for each financial year when the year is already into its second month...
>
> The University has been put at the mercy of annual budgets; and it is the Department of Territories, not the Australian Universities Commission that examines in detail the University's projects and budgets. In some precise respects the University is not within the Australian academic comity: Mr Gorton ruled, when he was Minister for Education and Science, that Commonwealth scholarships,

> undergraduate and graduate, could not be taken up at the University of Papua and New Guinea, and that its staff members were not eligible as those of all Australian universities are for grants from the Australian Research Grants Committee.
>
> Domestically our staff is well provided for. We are paid Australian salaries plus a Territory Allowance; and we are well housed, or will be when the University's housing programme is finished. Professionally, the staff is putting up with offices and laboratories and general facilities much more spartan than those normally found in Australia, and putting up with them cheerfully. When we visit, say, La Trobe University, and see the agora and the stream, the paintings on the walls, the bulging bookshop, or when we gaze across the carpeted expanse of a professorial study in Monash or Townsville, our eyes may pop momentarily, but we do not protest. An *opulent* institution would be out of place on the edge of Port Moresby. There is no danger of its becoming opulent on the level of income we have been requesting.
>
> But there is a danger, I believe, that a budgeting system which makes it impossible for the University to know what lies more than a few months ahead will prevent it from growing according to any rational plan. There is also a danger that in the name of economy the Commonwealth government will set such severe limits to what its professors and lecturers and students can do that it may be struggling for its life as a university.

The above comments were a response to the fact that in the last quarter of 1967 the Interim Council was informed that for the years 1968-69 and 1969-70, University expenditure would be restricted to $3.5 million, and student enrolments would have to be curtailed (see also "An Exchange of Views: The University, the Minister and the Vice-Chancellor", *New Guinea*, September-October 1968:8-11). After a great deal of argument — Gunther soliciting support for the University among certain Commonwealth Cabinet Ministers, support given to the University by the Australian press, and attacks on the government by individual academics and the UPNG Staff Association — the money available to the University was substantially increased for both financial periods. The University received a grant of $3.8 million in 1968-69 and over $4 million in 1969-70. While the University did not receive all of the money it wanted, its members were not prepared to accept severe restrictions placed on the Institution's growth and development.

THE SAGA

Between the time of the University's foundation in 1965 and the retirement of Dr J.T. Gunther in 1972, the University grew and prospered. With more money and greater support from government, it possibly could have done more. But, all in all, there was plenty of cash for an adequate development.

The saga that was built during these early years lay in the very heart of the institution's pioneering. In the next Chapter we will look more closely at internal structures, the endogenous social environment, and cleavages and conflicts within the system. Here the concern has been with the University as a totality, its image of itself, and its place within its original environment.

Between 1965 and 1972, PNG witnessed dramatic social changes. The University was in part an instigator of these changes. The hostility of the exogenous environment set a tradition within. Such values as University autonomy, recognition of the University as a superior institution, and opposition to what could be termed anti-intellectual and racialist attitudes by the Department of Territories, became crystallized. In building a new institution in the face of some adversity, the founders of UPNG relied greatly upon public opinion. In disputes, the University turned to Australian universities, individual academics, professional bodies, politicians (both Papua New Guinean and Australian), and the general public for support. In most cases, the support was forthcoming.

The hostility of the exogenous environment forced the academic and student communities to unite. The academic community came to see itself as social critic, and its members believed that they belonged to a "superior" institution. The most prestigious members of the staff were based in the social sciences and humanities. By profession, they were skilled, articulate, and very apt critics of specific government decisions and of Australian colonial policy in general. Also, the Department of Territories provided a great deal of fuel for the fire. But what must be underlined is the fact that academics were being critical of their own kind. Australian academics were critical of Australian politicians and government policies, a situation most natural for those involved.

University members were aware that they were forging ahead into a new world, which was independence for PNG. During the pioneering period, press attacks on Australian colonial policy by UPNG staff and students appeared frequently. Such attacks were almost daily occurrences in the local newspaper, and editorials appeared frequently within the Australian press.

Gunther stood as a shield between the institution and its environment. His style of administration was to "shoot from the hip", with public opinion as the ultimate weapon. He was a man unafraid of a fight; some would even say that he started a few. But he was also an astute politician. His policy was to "fight to win". Government and politics had been his life career. He was on intimate terms with politicians and members of government, both in Australia and PNG.(24) He knew whom to call upon for what effect.

During the pioneering stage, the elected members of the House of Assembly were dominated by articulate expatriate planters. These members and those appointed by the Administration made for a predominantly conservative force in the House. Thus, in a country as fragmented as PNG, the University was to serve as a major national forum for the discussion of political issues. Radical students from Australia visited the University; some of the institution's early indigenous students became involved with radical politics. A black power movement was established (more rhetorical than effective), and demonstrations were staged against a visiting South African leader and against other dignitaries to whom students could attribute political improprieties. The University, through its staff and students, provided much of the social critique of the day. En masse, it could not be claimed that students at the University, either then or now, were highly politicized. But a few students were involved in politics, and the University soon developed influential and important friendship patterns with members of the Pangu and National Parties — the coalition that led the Somare government to power (to self-government in 1973 and independence in 1975).

The expatriate academics at the University were prepared to listen to the young Papua New Guinean politicians. The academics took seriously what the indigenous politicians had to say; unfortunately, this was a novel occurrence in PNG, even so late in the colonial era. More importantly, the indigenous politicians felt that they were being understood by the academics and students at Waigani.

The Currie Commission spoke of the University as being a significant force for national unity. Whether or not it has fulfilled this role remains to be seen. But the University certainly raised the consciousness of the Papua New Guinean people to expect and desire nationhood. The University, through its social critique and its example of an autonomous Papua New Guinean institution capable and willing to deny colonial control, advanced political thought in the country, thus helping to weaken the country's political and cultural dependence upon Australia (Ballard, 1977:114-5).

The Department of Territories and factions within the expatriate community harboured a general fear and suspicion of the University. Griffin's (1976:104) comments on the reaction of the Secretary of the Department of Territories to the University's 1970 Waigani Seminar, highlight many of the attitudes held by the Department:

> The mentality of...[the] Department in those years, its disregard for university autonomy and its basic fears were never better illustrated than in the incident over the 1970 Waigani Seminar. This annual seminar which lasts about a week and brings together from home and abroad scholars, politicians, administrators, students and the general public has been an extraordinarily stimulating event since 1967. However, the Secretary of the Department, Mr George Warwick Smith, feared that a seminar entitled 'The Politics of Melanesia' would not be sufficiently 'scholarly' — that it would become a 'political forum'. He wrote accordingly to the seminar's organizer, Professor

> Charles Rowley. There was an implicit threat that Administration officers would be discouraged from attending. Professor Rowley took no notice of this interference(25) and, in the end, not only the public servants but Mr Warwick Smith himself attended and gave the final paper, 'Notes on Constitutional Change'(26) a filibuster of unabashed banality.

There were several unique achievements by University members during the pioneering period. The mere establishment of a University in PNG was significant in itself. Members of the University commenced teaching students before they had any of their own classrooms, offices, laboratories, or other buildings. The University did not have all the money it wanted for development, but members were able to get more money than the Department of Territories wanted to give. Members of the University were able to establish and maintain their autonomy vis-a-vis a government department that provided them with funds. The University grew rapidly, and academic members were able to participate significantly with indigenous students and politicians in a general social critique against Australian colonialism. The University established at Waigani was not a second-rate training institute controlled by the Department of Territories, as some academics and others in Australia feared it might be.

These were the accomplishments. They constitute a saga in the sense that members of the University (both those who did and did not participate in the events themselves) have woven them into a story that is told repeatedly. The saga is about the University's pioneering, about how the institution challenged out-moded patterns of behaviour and denied Australian colonial domination. The University came to see itself as the new wave, a builder in the face of adversity, an innovator in terms of both educational and social construction. For a time, these values, images, and beliefs about the institution provided members with an esprit de corps and a justification for continuing to protect and advance the University. But times change, as did the appropriateness of the relationship between the University and its exogenous environment; a subject to be examined in Part IV.

Outward relations between the University and its environment are only half the story that makes up the pioneering stage. In the next Chapter, internal operations of the institution will be examined.

NOTES

1. Sir George Currie was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia from 1940 to 1952 and Vice-Chancellor of the University of New Zealand from 1952 to 1962. Professor Spate was the Professor of Geography in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University and had conducted research in India, Fiji, and PNG. Dr Gunther had had twenty

years of service with the Administration, first as Director of Public Health and then as Assistant Administrator.

2. Interview with Ben Meek, University of Wollongong, January 1976. Ben Meek was, in 1964, Secretary to the Inter-Departmental Committee which reviewed the Currie Report. He later became the University's first and only Bursar.
3. Ibid., and interview with J.T. Gunther, UPNG, April 1975.
4. Professor P.H. Karmel to Minister for Territories, 30 June 1965, Karmel Papers, New Guinea Collection, UPNG, Port Moresby.
5. Professor M. Groves to Professor P. Karmel, 2 December 1965, Karmel Papers, New Guinea Collection, UPNG, Port Moresby.
6. Interview with Dr J.T. Gunther, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
7. The word "boi" (boy) in the term "hausboi" does not seem to have the racial connotations in PNG as it does in some other countries. It is used almost universally in the country, by both expatriate and Papua New Guineans. This may say something about the degree of racial consciousness present.
8. Interview with Dr J.T. Gunther, April 1975, Port Moresby.
9. Dr J.T. Gunther, Memorandum to Professor A.B. Weston, Dean, Faculty of Law, 26 November 1971, Customs File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
10. Staff Association File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
11. In February 1966, the Interim Council of the Administrative College passed a motion that discussion between the College and the Interim Council of the University commence in regard to the College becoming an Institute of the University. This proposal was rejected by the Minister, through the Territory Administration.
12. Much of the detail in the following description was provided by Dr Ian Howie-Willis, a Foundation staff member of the Institute, in a personal correspondence. I am indebted to Dr Howie-Willis for his most helpful comments.
13. Sir D.M. Cleland to Professor P. Karmel, 1 June 1966, Vice-Chancellor's Personal Correspondence File, UPNG, Port Moresby.
14. Professor P. Karmel to Sir D.M. Cleland, 2 July 1966, Vice-Chancellor's Personal Correspondence File, UPNG, Port Moresby.
15. These attitudes were expressed by Gunther in a Minute to Professor P.H. Karmel, 15 June 1966, Karmel Papers, New Guinea Collection, UPNG, Port Moresby.
16. Professor P.H. Karmel to Sir D.M. Cleland, 2 June 1966, Vice-Chancellor's Personal Correspondence File, UPNG, Port Moresby.
17. An additional factor which influenced the permanent move to Lae was that the Institute was already contemplating such a temporary move. It had enrolled its first students in 1967 and these were housed at the Idubada Technical School pending the construction of buildings on the Waigani site. The Department of Education, which was in the process of expanding technical education at the secondary level, wanted the Institute to vacate Idubada.
18. Dr J.T. Gunther to Professor B.S. Hetzel (Professor of Medicine at Monash University and member of UPNG Council), 21 May 1968, Yellow Files, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
19. Dr J.T. Gunther to Professor B.S. Hetzel, 25 June 1968, Yellow Files, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

20. His Honour the Administrator, D.O. Hay to Dr J.T. Gunther, 29 November 1968, Yellow Files, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
21. His Honour the Administrator to Dr J.T. Gunther, 28 November 1969, Yellow Files, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
22. The Minister for External Territories, Press Release, 3 December 1969, Medical Faculty File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
23. In 1969 an agreement was reached where the University would submit a rolling triennial programme to the Administration for resources, with yearly upgradings. This new arrangement (also adopted at this time in Australia) helped to alleviate some of the strain.
24. Interview with Dr J.T. Gunther, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
25. *The Australian* (Sydney), 10 December 1969. (Footnote 23 in original text).
26. In Marion W. Ward (ed.), *The Politics of Melanesia*, Canberra, 1971, pp. 709-19. This volume contains the proceedings of the 1970 Waigani Seminar. (Footnote 24 in original text).

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNAL STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS

In an interview with Dr Gunther the question was asked:(1) "When you commenced the task of establishing the University did you have in mind any specific character or structure for the Institution?"

> None at all, I had no idea what I was doing. Well, in starting something like this you don't gamble. We were not going to commence with some sort of idealistic model. We took our model from the Australian university. There were two groups that we had to have accept the University: Australian academics, and thus, the world community of universities. We played it safe.
>
> On academic matters I did not refer much to Karmel, he was too far away. When Karmel came up here he would go through the Council papers in the early morning and by the afternoon would have figured out what we had been working on for three to six months — an amazing man. But it was Professors Inglis (History), Nash (Law), later Ward (Geography) and Bulmer (Anthropology) that I referred to mostly. It was the Professors who carried the most weight. I believed in decisions being made from the top down.

New universities are often established with some specific innovation in mind. The factors which call the new university into existence may dictate specific innovations. In the context of the new nation, the mere introduction of higher education is itself an innovation. UPNG was founded about the same time as a wave of new universities were being introduced in Australia. Macquarie University was founded in 1964 and commenced teaching in 1967, Monash was founded in 1958, Flinders in 1961 and La Trobe in 1964. These new universities were founded upon principles slightly different from those dominating the older Australian universities.

The new Australian universities established in the mid-1960s saw the need for more integration among the various disciplines, greater flexibility in course offerings and for a more *general* education for their students. To achieve these ends, three popular devices were introduced: the school structure of academic organization, the half-year or semester concept of course construction, and the credit point system.

New universities, in attempting to supplant old traditions with new structures, in the search for new orientations and in attempting to solve new and unique problems, face two primary problems. One is the tendency for new structures, even when established as an innovation from the beginning, to dissolve into old and more familiar patterns. Blandy (1972:235) in writing on the problems of maintaining a school of academic organization at Flinders University observes that: "Planned to be different, Flinders is reverting to pre-existing university patterns slowly but surely. There are two main strands to the story: external limitations of difference...and, much more important, the internal disintegration of the credibility of the founding vision, an erosion of faith brought about largely by the University's growth and the loss of power by the committee foundation faculty to less committed newcomers". The second problem is that the commitment to a new scheme of action must be as near total as possible. Dundonald (1968:105), writing on new universities in the United Kingdom, states that: "We can be sure of one thing: where the innovatory course — timid or adventurous, it makes no matter — is placed as an equal competitor with the orthodox offering, then orthodoxy will win every time".

UPNG was founded at a time when Australian academics were rethinking the idea of university education. The first professors at UPNG considered what was being planned at Macquarie University. Both the semester concept and the credit point system to be employed at UPNG were lifted from Macquarie's statutes. Of course, Macquarie had more time for academic planning than did UPNG.

New universities were established in Australia to achieve specific societal goals. (See the 1957 "Report of the Committee on Australian Universities", Sir Keith Murray, Chairman; and "Tertiary Education in Australia, Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia to the Australian Universities Commission", L.H. Martin, Chairman, submitted in 1964). In PNG, the needs of the society were even more apparent and urgent. But in comparison to Australia, PNG was severely limited in terms of the resources which could be used to meet the needs of its people. This demanded of UPNG flexibility to search for new orientations and to demonstrate a high degree of commitment and sensitivity to the needs, goals, aims, and values of its host society. But herein lies the dilemma. The Institution in search for new and relevant approaches to unique problems was forced to draw heavily on old, established, and orthodox patterns. The urgency surrounding UPNG's foundation was a determining factor. Also, a university recruits its staff, almost exclusively in the academic sphere, from those who have had extensive prior experience with university life, values, training, structures, goals, and styles of administration. This prior experience may be varied among the new recruits, but members of the new institution will have some preconception of what the institution is to be, and of the methods to achieve the ends desired.

During the pioneering period, UPNG came to strongly resemble an Australian university. Like the totality of the institution's development, this resemblance is ad hoc. Some elements in UPNG's structure are based firmly upon traditional and orthodox concepts of higher education, others are drawn from innovatory concepts which came into vogue during the mid-1060s, and still others are complete departures from the Australian model. To understand the University's structure, three basic factors must be considered: the nature of the first student body (the early social context), agreement, or lack of, on the first formal structure, and attempts at adaptation of the formal structure.

THE NATURE OF THE FIRST STUDENT BODY

The founders, though committed to creating an institution of a recognizable Australian character and standard, gave much thought to the special problems PNG students would face. The Currie Commission explored these problems and stressed the need for a preliminary year as well as other structural arrangements.

In 1966 in a working paper the Interim Council recognized that the students would face special difficulties as a result of:

i. inadequacies in English language and some other basic educational matters, for example, logic and scientific method;

ii. inadequacies in background knowledge in law, government, current affairs;

iii. a cultural background which does not stress the need for purposeful activity and for proper study methods;(2)

iv. cultural conflict of an intense nature;

v. stresses due to the fact that, in a backward but rapidly advancing country, the first students will play a vital leadership role from the time they graduate.(3)

The early decisions by the Interim Council on the length of degree courses and the structure of the academic year took these problems into account. It was decided that a four-year degree course, based on a credit system, would be required, and that the academic year should be divided into two semesters. It was felt that this would give the University the flexibility that it needed to deal with the special problems that Papua New Guinean students would face. The semester system would allow students to sample a variety of courses before specializing in one area, and the credit point system would enable the better prepared student to proceed with degree work more quickly than others. When the Administration approved the four-year degree course, early members of the University believed that a firm commitment had been made to ensure that the institution was going to be of an Australian standard. UPNG planned to spread the three-year degree course common in Australia over four years.

At the time the University was founded, secondary education in PNG was rapidly expanding. But it would not be until 1971 that the secondary system had developed to the stage where indigenous students could matriculate directly to the University from Form VI high schools. The preliminary year served as the major source for matriculating Papua New Guinean students.

The previous dearth of secondary education in the country meant that the first Papua New Guinean students to be eligible for either enrolment into the preliminary year or straight into degree courses would have somewhat exceptional educational backgrounds.

The first preliminary year students (1966) reflected the colonial development of education in PNG. Papuan students outnumbered New Guineans three to one, an imbalance later corrected with the growth of secondary schools. The four Highland districts, which then contained 30 per cent of the country's population, were not represented among the University's first students. Of the 88 students who enrolled for the 1966 preliminary year, 57 sat for the end-of-year examination, of whom 35 matriculated. The first student population, as with all to come after, was dominated by male students. Only six females were enrolled in 1966, and even today male students outnumber female in a ratio of 10:1. But characteristic of a minority in such a situation, the females who do survive the education system to enrol at the University are generally of even a more select group than their male counterparts. For specific case histories of a few early students see Nelson (1967:21-2).

In 1966 it was estimated that eighty-seven per cent of the adult male population was not engaged in cash employment. However, less than forty per cent of the 1966 preliminary year students' fathers could be classified as "traditional villagers" (Nelson, 1967:20). The highest portion of students' fathers held some official church (mission) position — pastors, missionaries and catechists — within the village. "In many cases the children of the clergy...benefited not only from coming from what was probably the most literate household in the village, but from positions of prestige and relative material advantage" (ibid.). In June 1967, it was estimated from the respondents of a questionnaire (A. Gilbert, 1968:34-5) distributed to all indigenous UPNG students that approximately twenty-five per cent of the students had been to a school in Australia, with the remainder educated primarily in Territory boarding schools. The figures suggest that the average student "spent more than half his life living in a village...30% of his time at boarding school, and...15% living in a town". Nearly forty-five per cent of the students were children of mission employees and about twenty per cent of the groups' fathers had worked for the Administration.

The first University students were atypical of their age peers. The mere fact that they had made it so far through the educational system made them special. Nevertheless, indigenous students face, then and now, three basic pedagogical problems: language, numeracy, and a strong religious (mission) bias.

Language. The language of instruction at the University is English, a difficult language at the best of times. The majority of students come from homes in which English is not spoken. Often, their first educational experience will be at mission-run primary schools where instruction is in the vernacular. At secondary boarding schools, English is the medium for instruction. However, "*Tok Ples*" (the vernacular of one's *wantok* group) or "Pidgin English" is used amongst students outside the classroom. On top of this, many University students would have first been taught English by indigenous instructors with only one year of formal training and poor in English usage themselves. Many University students "emerged from such initial learning situations with inaccurate habits of language firmly established" (Johnson, 1968:1; and see Roe, 1968).

Vocabulary is possibly the greatest handicap amongst University students. The Foundation Professor of English and Linguistics (Johnson, p. 2) at UPNG noted that lack of command of content vocabulary takes two forms amongst indigenous students:

> First, there is a limited word stock; that is, the actual number of words our students have to express their thoughts is limited. They have perhaps at most command of 1,500 to 2,000 words in the English language, but these cannot express the niceties and shades of meaning which they are required to express in University study...
>
> [Second], our students often came to us with a limited extension of the meaning of English vocabulary. The meanings that they do have are usually those of a literal sense. There is a need to extend even known vocabulary items of students to give them experience of the known non-literal meanings of English words.

Numeracy. Numeracy creates the greatest pedagogical problems in teaching mathematics and science students. In one sense, problems of numeracy are similar to the students' language problems; they are disadvantaged in the home, according to the Foundation Professor of Mathematics (McKay, 1968:1), because they do not have access to:

> toys of different geometric shapes and sizes, counting beads and blocks, numbers on clock faces and in picture books, quantitative ideas which occur in the conversation of adults and older children, precision of the language itself in the measurement of time and space, distance and speed, and contact with the various intricate products of modern technology.

Also, the shortage of qualified teachers of mathematics has meant the situation remains largely uncorrected in the school.

In the village situation a number system other than "base 10" is often in use. As with basic linguistic differences between English and vernaculars, the Papua New Guinean student in learning mathematics is faced with new methods for ordering knowledge. Mathematicians and scientists at UPNG go as far as to argue that indigenous students came from a "science free" cultural background. Those involved in teaching English would not argue that indigenous students came from a "linguistic free" culture. In fact, much of the teaching of English has been structured around indigenous styles of language use. However, those lecturing in mathematics and science subjects have felt that they must virtually start from scratch in teaching the indigenous student their disciplines. These factors will be explored further in subsequent sections of this Chapter.

Religion. Religion is an influential force in PNG. Even today missions provide a significant proportion of the primary education and secondary schools have a strong mission ethos. Among many students, especially those first coming to the University via the preliminary year, there exists a strong religious bias. In the early days of university teaching, there was conflict between the "secular" and the "sacred". This conflict was most evident amongst students taking science subjects. Some students taking their first biology course at UPNG were both shocked and confused by the scientific explanation of evolution. The missionaries had not informed them about Darwin and theories of natural selection. On all fronts, the University was a confusing, novel, conflicting, and disturbing experience for the indigenous student.

Of course, as P. Foster (1975d:515) notes in the concluding paper presented at the Eighth Waigani Seminar, there is a certain inevitability in the conflict between students' indigenous cultural background and a western system of education:

> Westernization in general and the school in particular may have led to new patterns of conflict in Papua New Guinean society but this is an inevitable corollary of social and cultural transformation; there is no such thing as 'painless' social change. This is why I become rather uneasy when I hear people speak of the need to 'adapt' the school to the needs of traditional society. Insofar as the schools introduce a new dimension into that society they cannot be 'adapted' irrespective of what they teach. Indeed, if people were really serious about 'adapting' the schools I suspect that the only realistic policy would be to abolish them altogether.

Nevertheless, the question still remains: does the education system reach the students? In terms of the University's response during the pioneering period to the educational needs and cultural background of its indigenous students, two factors served to dilute and complicate the problems themselves. First, a significant proportion of the University's first indigenous degree candidates had had secondary education, some to matriculation level, at boarding schools in Australia.(4) These students had a variety of effects upon the University community. They were much more fluent in English. Also, they did not have the inherent reaction of shyness to white lecturers which is found among many indigenous students. By most reports, in classroom discussion and in terms of achievement, these students were generally more "advanced" than their solely Papua New Guinean trained counterparts. The distinction was most prevalent in the first two years of university education, but then it diminished.

The Australian-educated Papua New Guineans had their greatest effect in the social sphere. These students had language, lifestyles, values, and mannerisms closely attuned to those of their white lecturers. During the pioneering period, there were strong social ties between staff and students. The Australian-educated students helped greatly to sponsor such ties. It was a regular occurrence for students to be entertained at staff members' homes. The Staff-Student Club opened in 1970, late in the pioneering period, and became a most amiable place where all members of the University community socialized. During the pioneering period the social relations amongst all members of the community were, for the most part, quite amiable. In part, the close-knit relations amongst staff and students in the early years was a function of the size of the community and the pioneering saga. It was not impossible in those days for a staff member to know all his students. Even so, the Australian-educated Papua New Guinean helped greatly in promoting social equality amongst black students and white lecturers. This helped to reduce, or at least to obscure, some of the cultural conflict in the classroom.

The second factor which helped to complicate the University's response to indigenous pedagogical problems was the number of European expatriates amongst UPNG's first degree students. From the beginning, the University attracted expatriates living in the Territory — quite unintentionally on the University's part. Up to 1972 part-time expatriate students made up approximately fifty per cent of all undergraduate enrolments, and completely dominated enrolments for higher degrees. Since 1972, expatriate part-time enrolments have tapered off as a percentage of the total student body; though they still dominate the number of candidates for higher degrees. Table III shows a breakdown by nationality of UPNG student enrolment for the years 1970-1975.

A survey conducted by the University's Student Consellor in August 1971, provides some general background of the European expatriate student body. Some 229 expatriate students were sampled, eighty-seven per cent of all European students at the University. Of those sampled, 172 were male and 57 female. Of the males, seventy-six per cent were of Australian nationality, eleven per cent British and New Zealand, and twenty-two per cent were classed as other; female nationality was as follows: eighty-two per cent Australian, fourteen per cent British and New Zealand, and four per cent other. Ages ranged from seventeen to fifty-four years, with the mean age for both males and females equal to twenty-nine years.

The average time of residence for these students in PNG was 6.3 years. In terms of employment since their arrival in PNG, the predominant occupations amongst male European students were teacher and clerical; amd amongst female, teacher and housewife.

During the early years of the pioneering period the expatriate student dominated degree courses. It was to these students that over ninety per cent of all As were given. In tutorials, the European student tended to dominate discussion, both because of his greater fluency in the English language and through sheer confidence. Because of a variety of factors inherent in the colonial experience, the indigenous student is extremely shy and lacks confidence when attempting to express ideas when whites are present. This is

TABLE III

Source of UPNG Students (excluding preliminary year)* by Country of Origin, for Years 1970-75

	1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975	
Nationality	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Papua New Guinean	253	35.8	420	49.6	534	54.8	715	63.3	1095	71.9	1355	79.3
Non-Papua New Guinean	454	64.2	427	50.4	441	45.2	415	36.7	427	28.1	353	20.7
Total Student:	707	100	847	100	975	100	1130	100	1522	100	1708	100

Source:
UPNG Financial Submissions for years 1970 to 1975.

*All preliminary year students are of PNG nationality. However, the figures do include all full-time and part-time degree students and sub-graduate diploma students.

especially true of first year and preliminary year students; and even more so for young indigenous female students. In many cases, the European part-time student led the class.

In the first few years of its establishment the University was concerned over standards. Here, the expatriate student greatly complicated the matter. The problem was to set standards which would allow Australian students to gain credit for their work at UPNG upon leaving the country, while permitting a reasonable proportion of indigenous students to qualify for professional work in PNG. There was an opinion that the highly successful expatriate student at UPNG would only be an average student in Australia. Also there was some disappointment with the standards of the first indigenous students.

The Foundation Professor of Law was the first member of staff to approach Australian universities with regard to their recognition of UPNG courses. In 1967 six of the eight Australian Law Schools agreed to recognize the subjects taught in Law at UPNG as being equivalent in academic status to the subjects taught in Australia. At the time recognition was received, it was stated in the *U.P.N.G. News* (May 1967:7) that "this should do a great deal to counteract the attitude, which exists in certain quarters, that the University is in some way of a lower standard than other universities in the Commonwealth of Australia and its Territories".

The reports of the early external examiners(5) usually noted that indigenous students in the arts-type subjects compared favourably with Australian university students. It was in the sciences that the greatest degree of difference between the European student and the indigenous student was demonstrated. In 1967 a review of science students' achievements showed that the median grade was D (A, High Distinction, B, Distinction; C, Credit; D, Pass; E, Conceded Pass; F, Fail). Also, of the indigenous science students, those admitted to the University from the preliminary year did less well than those admitted from elsewhere, for example, gaining matriculation through study in Australia.(6)

In the remaining pages of this Chapter, the evolution of formal academic structure within UPNG is discussed. It is evident that a good deal of thought and effort has been applied in the attempt to arrive at a structure which best fits the PNG context. During the pioneering period, some progress was made in this direction. But the make-up and character of the student body complicated members' efforts to arrive at an academic structure best suited to the indigenous student. Over fifty per cent of all degree students were expatriates, and of those the majority were of Australian nationality. A significant proportion of the indigenous students had received secondary education in Australia, some for up to six years. As previously stated, in effect there was no other choice but to establish an Australian University — Australian in terms of structure, knowledge, and basic educational goals — in PNG. But once established, members have attempted to fit the Australian model to the local environment. The pedagogical problems inherent in the social and cultural context of the University's host-society have never been ignored. But in the context where such problems were of most importance — the classroom — other facters diluted their initial impact. As we will attempt to demonstrate in Part IV, the pedagogical problems within the University increase, rather than decrease with time.

THE FIRST STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS

Professor Karmel, in a draft article addressed to the Interim Council,(7) wrote in 1965 that:

> In some ways the University of Papua and New Guinea will be patterned on Australian universities. It will aim to produce graduates comparable in quality with Australian graduates. Its academic organization will probably follow an Australian pattern. It will look chiefly to Australia for its staff; and it hopes for help of many kinds from Australian universities.

UPNG has never had any specific academic master plan. The closest thing to it was the *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea*. The guidelines set down by the Currie Commission certainly provided a general framework for university development which influenced the University in the early years. But as far as specific details with regard to academic structure and development per se, a master plan did not exist. Rather, arrangements were arrived at during the on-going operation of the institution.

Before turning to a description of the specific structural arrangements that have evolved at UPNG, a few words need to be said about the composition of the academic staff. Besides the majority of the first academics appointed to the University being Australian, other factors relevant to the PNG environment affected the composition of staff. It was recognized from the outset that the University would be able to attract "staff of quality" more readily in the arts-based disciplines than in the sciences.(8) The basic reasoning for this distinction was, and is, based upon research opportunities. PNG provides the anthropologist, historian, linguist, sociologist, educationalist, and the like, with a huge natural laboratory. In recent years science has established an elaborate organization deemed necessary for its proper functioning. The reproduction of this organization — the laboratory along with all of its technical and specialized equipment — in a developing country with scarce resources is impossible. The developing context by its very nature, emphasizes results from science, and therefore puts a higher priority on technology than on pure research. At UPNG, this has put the arts-based disciplines at an advantage,(9) both in terms of research and in attracting staff of the highest quality.

At almost all universities there are differentiations in values and orientations between the arts and sciences, to varying degrees. At UPNG this differentiation is striking. Scientists are more likely to be conservative and cautious. Because part of the University's early saga involved a radical social critique (radical for the times and situation), those staff members in the arts disciplines, by profession, had an advantage within the University. Also, students' background determines that they will have less difficulty in arts subjects than in science subjects. In terms of prestigious staff members, staff numbers, and student numbers, the Faculty of Arts has dominated the University. The Arts Faculty regards itself as superior, while the scientists have fought until recently, to justify their existence.(10) Table IV is a breakdown of Bachelor Degree student enrolments by Faculty for the years 1969-75.

It would be a mistake to view UPNG as structurally static; rather, throughout the institution's development there has been a plurality of academic structure. By not having a firm master plan for development, the University has been able to add and delete schemes for academic arrangements with some ease. Professor Inglis, at a seminar on planning new universities, said that "when you only have three months to plan then you can have more flexibility to add things as needed".(11) Though his comments were spoken "tongue in cheek", they were taken seriously by a few present who had planned new universities, and who had a long period in which to do it.(12) The plan can become too dogmatic and an element of flexibility lost.

The urgency with which the University was founded disallowed any thorough investigation of the type of academic structure best suited to the PNG context. This has caused a continual search for

TABLE IV

UPNG Bachelor Degree Student Enrolments by Faculty for Years 1969-75

Bachelor of:	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	58	90	106
Arts, Economics, Social Work and Education*	249	352	452	470	511	588	615
Law	55	60	85	127	149	164	166
Medicine**	-	-	-	51	52	66	87
Science	66	92	133	130	122	167	206

* Education only became a separate faculty in 1971 and it was not until 1973 that a student registered for B Ed degree was required to differentiate between education courses and general B A courses. Hence, the figures for students registered in the Education Faculty are included with those in the Arts Faculty; they make up about thirteen per cent of the total.

** Years 2-5, first-year medical students enrol in the Science Faculty.

Source:
UPNG Financial Submissions for Years 1970 to 1975.

such a structure throughout the institution's ongoing operation. In addition, all expatriate academics are on limited contract, which has meant a continual inflow of new members to the community, who bring with them new ideas for doing things. The institution does not demonstrate a long-term entrenchment of structure, religiously guarded by a few powerful professors with tenure, as is found in some other universities.

Though conflicts over structure do not always involve the same actors, there is continuity with regard to the issues involved. The core conflicts involve three basic factors: 1) the response of the institution to the pedagogical needs of the students; 2) questioning of new ways in relation to the orthodox; and 3) academics protecting their individual disciplines. Tracing through a description of arguments surrounding early proposals of academic structure demonstrates how these three factors interact with each other. Two proposals are considered: the proposed School of Science and the proposed joint Arts/Science Faculty.

It was in the Academic Committee, forerunner of the Professorial Board, that major policy decisions were made with regard to the creation of an academic structure (the membership of the Committee was the Vice-Chancellor, the Librarian, the first professorial appointees, and a member of the Currie Commission). Over a period of about one year — mid-1966 to 1967 — the Committee dealt with the establishment of an academic structure. The original thinking was that it would embody a general integrated approach to degree training. In May 1966 the minutes of the Academic Committee recorded that:(13)

> It was generally decided that at this stage the University should give a good 'round' course; that Science should be taught in Arts courses, and that the first year of the Law course might be designed so that the student could transfer over with credits into an Arts course.

The attempt to formalize a structure that would articulate an integrated approach reached a peak in early 1967, but degenerated into a more traditional approach within a few months.

In the latter half of 1966 one of the first professorial appointments in the sciences, the Professor of Chemistry, proposed a school of science structure. He based his proposal on the principle that there would "be more co-operation between the sciences than is usual in more traditional environments" and on "trends that research work and course work would take".(14) The Vice-Chancellor, who was interested in such a structure, encouraged the proposal.

At the meeting of the Academic Committee held in October 1966 the recommendation for a School of Science with an elected chairman was considered and passed. However, with the arrival of additional science staff members upon the scene in 1967, opposition to the proposal developed. The Professor of Biology opposed the scheme and was able to solicit support. Two factors involved in the opposition to a school of science emerged. One, there was apprehension about the school structure in relation to the development of individual disciplines. The Professor of Biology was committed to building a Department of Biology and considered that this could be more adequately accomplished with a faculty/departmental structure. Two, there was some conflict over who would provide leadership in the sciences.

To complicate matters, another scheme for academic structural arrangements was proposed, primarily by the Professor of Mathematics, that the basic organization be a joint art/science faculty (the Professor was to become the first Dean of Arts). Debate over the various structural arrangements reached a peak in a general meeting of academic staff held in April 1967.(15) The minutes outline the objections to the school of science structure which were held by some members of the sciences:

> i) There was only one science Professor at the time [a school of Science was proposed]...and the integration between science disciplines now appeared to be less close

114

> than was assumed; and ii) the doubtful wisdom of having schools in one area [Arts and Sciences] and a faculty in another, Law.

One member of staff present at the meeting considered: "...closely allied interests as being served by a school and loosely allied interests as being served by a Faculty". The minutes went on to record that:

> When the decision in favour of the School of Science was made, all members of staff were in fact agreed that the maximum co-operation between disciplines and flexibility of courses was desirable. The members of the Arts disciplines believed this was best served by a combined faculty, but for other reasons the Science staff decided on a school.

The Professor of Chemistry also changed his mind about the validity of a school of science and supported the notion of separate faculties, much to the disappointment of the Vice-Chancellor.

As mentioned above, the Vice-Chancellor was interested in the school of science structure, though not in the joint arts/science concept. He first approached the Professor of Chemistry to put the proposal to the Academic Committee. The Vice-Chancellor felt that what Papua New Guinean students needed was a full and general education. He was opposed to narrow specialization and felt UPNG needed something different from the traditional university pattern of organization. However, he was unable to argue his beliefs with full confidence or knowledge. He only became acquainted with university organization and administration in 1963 as a member of the Currie Commission and was not prepared to argue *strongly* on purely academic issues.

The discussion on structure eventually centred on whether or not arts and science should be combined in a joint faculty structure. While the Professor of Mathematics and some other members of the arts group supported the joint faculty concept, most science members opposed it. The Professor of Biology, in commenting on combined systems of academic integration, is recorded as saying that "combined systems had not really been tested and...the older system in fact proved itself for 600 years. So why change now?" The Associate Professor of Physics adamantly opposed a combined faculty, though he did support a separate school of science. The Associate Professor feared a joint faculty partly because of past experience. He is recorded in the minutes of the above meeting as stating:

> His experience at the Wollongong College, in which there was combined faculty of Arts and Science, showed that such a decision meant only a postponment of vital decisions, which were never re-opened because of increasing pressure of work.

Wollongong was a University College of the University of New South Wales. The Professor of Mathematics was a former member of the University and held administrative power within its organization.

The Associate Professor of Physics not only feared a joint faculty structure in terms of its organizational merits, but also because the proposal was being advanced by the Professor of Mathematics. He had experienced in the past an administrative relationship with the Professor which he did not want to repeat at UPNG.

Eventually a motion was put to the effect that there be separate faculties with inter-disciplinary co-operation. When put to the vote there were seven for and seven against; the Chairman was unwilling to break the tie (the Chairman was the Professor of Law; Law stood apart in the argument). Eventually a compromise was reached. The joint faculty scheme was approved in principle with a provision of a two-year period of review.

The compromise was thrown out by the Academic Committee at the meeting held on 17 May 1967. A letter was received by the Vice-Chancellor, signed by ten members of the science staff, requesting that there be separate arts and science faculties. It was decided that the previous proposal for a joint faculty of arts and science be rescinded and the creation of separate faculties was approved. The discussion brought out the points that a faculty meeting was a general business meeting and that though some questions arose in both faculties "...different *criteria* were applied by each because *different issues* were involved for each faculty concerned" (emphasis provided).

One other factor which needs to be mentioned is that of geography. At the time, all staff were housed together at the Administrative College, but extensive thought was being given to site planning for the University. In discussions on buildings the science staff were concerned with special problems, such as laboratory space. It was thought that there was little contribution which the arts people could make in these discussions.(16) This may seem a trivial factor, but it needs to be remembered that the paramount concern of all staff was to build a university. In terms of forward planning this becomes another plane on which communication and co-operation between the two groups is stifled by the professional concerns of each.

The resolution to separate the faculties of arts and science was a very important, though possibly inevitable, decision in the University's history. If the above points to anything, it suggests that each group — arts and science — believed themselves to have unique and separate domains, and that there are both conscious and unconscious attitudes which disallow their unification. In the beginning, the sciences had very few students, and there developed among the scientists an attitude that in order to attract students they would need a separate identity. Also, there was a general feeling that the sciences faced different educational problems to the arts. Problems associated with students' cultural background — numeracy and literacy — were to take on different dimensions for the sciences than for the arts.

Resistance to both the school of science (though the scientists were divided on this issue) and the joint arts/science concept came from the science staff. There seems to have been a real fear at the time by science staff that they would be engulfed and manipulated by the arts.(17) Any administrative structure which would have furthered this was to be abhorred. The discussion revolved around the structure and, to a degree, around semantics. There seems to have been little effort in attempting to define what was really meant by a "school" or a "joint faculty". Certain basic questions were left unanswered by both groups: what was university education to be about in PNG? Were the techniques used and knowledge presented so different and unrelated that the domains of each group had to be protected by statute? The above describes the process whereby a few individuals organized to create an institution. The questions of the institution's place in its environment and its integration with that environment, were thrown aside by institutional processes and group interests. However, they were never buried; in fact, the question of what structural arrangements best serve the interests of UPNG in its host-society forms a continuing thread in the University's history.

Even though segments of the early arguments over a structure were quite hostile, discussions were contained and even dictated by certain universalistic norms. On a macro-level, the actors never questioned the basic idea of a western university and the need for such an institution in PNG. Actors took their points of reference from the stock of university structures available in Australia and elsewhere. In this sense, the argument over a formal structure was the classical argument of innovation versus orthodoxy, and it was being repeated at many new universities. Flinders University, South Australia, had formulated a school structure of academic organization. Macquarie University, New South Wales, had done the same and its students, whether in arts or science, would all receive one degree, the B.A. The new wave of universities established during the 1960s in the United Kingdom were challenging established, orthodox ways of academic organization with new innovations.

On the micro-level, certain universal norms were used to further and protect individual and group interest. The basic norm being manipulated in the conflict over the first structure was autonomy, or more precisely, the autonomy of the discipline (profession). Universities rest upon a variety of axioms, an important one being that the academic should have autonomy in developing and professing a discipline. Whether or not members of the Science Faculty fully believed in this norm, they used it most successfully to establish a domain separate from other domains in the University. Neither the school scheme nor the joint faculty proposal necessarily challenged the autonomy of individual disciplines. But members of the Science Faculty, basically because of their weakness in relation to other members of the University, called upon the norm of autonomy as the basic justification for structurally separating themselves from the rest of the academic community.

ADAPTATIONS

The University commenced with a traditional faculty/departmental structure. In the founding of something new, each professor was concerned with his departmental and faculty piece of the University pie. But even as the faculty/departmental structure was becoming crystallized, it generated new problems. Besides conflict between and within disciplines, there was a basic pedagogical problem which members had difficulty in dealing with through the orthodox structure. The greatest barrier to departmental organization at UPNG was, and still is, the cultural background of indigenous students. This conflict would have been even more intense during the University's pioneering period if it was not for the three factors already mentioned: the high percentage of Europeans amongst the student body, the presence of Australian-educated indigenous students, and the desire for the institution to be accepted by Australian universities. Nevertheless, there was an early recognition that the University was not doing its best by its indigenous students.

The whole question of the structure and purpose of the University was re-opened in mid-1968. The Vice-Chancellor wrote at the time:(18)

> I think one of the bad decisions we have made at this University was to revert to departmental organization. I have a feeling, though I may be wrong, that in the Faculty of Science this departmental organization is so strong that coming to grips with a generalist science course is, to say the least, difficult.

The argument in science centres on the nature of the degree and its purpose; that is, whether to produce a specialist degree or to offer a general degree, and how to cope with the variety of courses offered, with little integration between departments and much duplication. The fact that students came to the University with many different levels of preparation contributed to the problems. The Associate Professor of Physics sums up the argument rather well:(19)

> Zealous teachers want to teach everything in the book in the most time they can get...rather than teach the book, we must teach the students how to read a book, give them time to do the reading and make sure they have sufficient basic knowledge to read widely. Most of our students will become specialists when they sign up for their first job. These elementary truths are not widely appreciated in the Faculty of Science.

The Vice-Chancellor supported this view, and in a reply to the above, took the opportunity once again to express his disappointment with the Science Faculty in rejecting the decision of the Interim Council and the Academic Committee that there should be such a school. He also wrote that he believed that the Professorial Board "...side-stepped some important policy decisions", and that "...as far as the Faculties are concerned, and particularly the Faculty of Science, there is an unfortunate departmental bias".(20)

At the fourth meeting of the Faculty of Science, in September 1969, a sub-committee was established to investigate a common science core proposal. The convenor of this committee was the Associate Professor of Physics (he was also on the Foundation Year Committee which will be discussed below). The idea behind the common core was to further inter-disciplinary teaching. There was concern not only about proliferation of courses in the sciences, but also about the remedial work that had to be done in each course. Because of poor preparation in secondary schools, there was a need for the student to learn fundamentals before he could get into the "meat" of a course. There arose a feeling that all science students should participate in a general all-round experience of the sciences before advancing in a particular discipline.

It took more than two years for the science common core to be defined and implemented. One of the arguments centred on the question of whether the degree should be a specialist degree or not. The other, and more important point of conflict, was based on a fear by certain disciplines that they would be left out. The question of whether there should be options in the core and if options should apply to arts subjects, also arose. But it seems that one of the most important arguments concerned the position of mathematics in the core.

The convenor of the sub-committee had certain ideas on science education in PNG. Because of the educational background of the Papua New Guinean student he thought it better to approach the science content descriptively rather than analytically. In so doing there was a tendency to play down mathematics. The first proposal for a common core was based on three semesters of general teaching in the sciences with no options and little mathematics.

Mathematics is in a special position, both in relation to its students and to the faculties. It has a leg in both faculties and acts as a service department. Many of the science staff feel that those students who are unsuccessful in mathematics will also be unsuccessful in the sciences. In relation to its students, mathematics views itself as the only department which turns away a student who does not make the grade, while other departments modify their courses to suit the students who come to them.(21)

Compromise was eventually reached over the common core and it was introduced in 1971. The sciences were not to take on a purely descriptive nature and mathematics retained its importance in relation to them.

At the same time as the Science Faculty was considering the common core, the University as a whole was discussing the idea of a Foundation Year. Originally, the concept was seen as involving both the arts and sciences (the suggestion that the University might at some stage consider a Foundation Year similar to the Keele "common year" being first raised by the Currie Commission). The Vice-Chancellor was extremely interested in such a scheme,(22) as he explained in a letter to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Keele, whom he had recently visited:(23)

> Our problem is the people of Papua and New Guinea are almost deprived people as far as general knowledge is concerned. Science concepts develop four or five years later than they would in a western civilisation. We have just got to have some sort of a year which places the Papuan and New Guinean in the universe.

A committee was set up in mid-1969 to investigate the proposal for a common Foundation Year. There were a number of factors involved. With consideration being given to the possibility of junior colleges, and introduction of Form V and VI in PNG, thought was being given to shortening the degree by one year. Also, there was discussion of combining a Foundation Year to make a two-year preliminary year. But behind the whole process lay more general and far-reaching questions as to the nature of the degree and what was to be achieved at UPNG. The committee was concerned with standards and how the degree would be regarded abroad: "...if we seek to have our degrees regarded as of comparable standards to the pass obtained in Australian universities, the amount of specialisation and standards reached in science and maths may be inadequate".(24)

Much consideration was given to the Keele model. The Vice-Chancellor invited Professor Ingram, Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Keele University, and Professor Williams, Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University, who both had special knowledge of the Keele system, to visit UPNG. In a paper written after his visit, Williams stated that:

> The full range of conditions for the successful transfer of the Keele system does not exist at UPNG. The position at the moment is dominated by the problem of getting students up to a decent standard at matriculation, especially in Mathematics and Science.

And he goes on to say:

> The Philosophy of the present degree arrangements at UPNG is very different from the Keele Philosophy. The degrees in Arts and Science...make possible very highly specialised degrees...or general degrees. But in the latter case there is no apparent provision to relate the courses in the different departments, and it is possible to course-hop aimlessly...(25)

Williams points out that it would be better for the University to consider the philosophy of its course structure, rather than concentrate on a Foundation Year — "for the latter is simply part of the former, and until the main problem is worked out the Foundation Year Committee may well find it impossible to get either a splendid scheme or receive support for it".(26) Besides his comments on Foundation Year, Williams addressed himself to the proposed science common core. He thought the desire to act was to be praised, but had reservations about the direction of the movement. He writes that: "a considerable part of the proposed core is meant to cope with a transitional problem of unknown duration. But apart from that the proposed structure seems to create barriers to desirable double majors in Arts and Science".(27)

As debate continued in the Arts Faculty over Foundation Year, and the science common core developed, each group began to drift further apart. The science staff were still not agreed on the merits of a generalist degree over a specialist degree. Also, the science staff believed they needed as much time as possible in order to bring students up to an acceptable standard, and they did not want to share this time with arts.

The Science Faculty was still not prepared to enter into any overall administrative union with arts. But the departmental bias in the Arts Faculty itself also worked against integration. The debate finally took the form of a proposal to introduce required cross-disciplinary courses which would be conducted throughout the students' university career. The Professorial Board referred the proposal back to the Foundation Year Committee for consideration of staffing implications. But the death blow came from the Faculty of Arts, who rejected the scheme. At the meeting of the Faculty in which the proposal was discussed, departments were more concerned with their own particular problems than with problems of integration. The Associate Professor of Physics made this point quite clear to the Faculty:(28)

> The meeting was memorable to me because considerable... time was spent discussing the case of a student who wished to break every enrolment rule made by the Faculty in its three years of existence...to date, courses have been proposed by Departments and only one Department has a course prerequisite outside its immediate control...
>
> The general lack of enthusiasm in the Faculty of Arts for Foundation Year courses is discouraging. It is proper to ask the Faculty of Arts what its goals are — I can see that the top ten percent of your graduands will respond to the academic pretensions of some courses but are the majority of students being adequately prepared for Papua and New Guinea's next decade?
>
> I am now convinced the structure of the Faculties inhibits the development of any course outside the exclusive control of a Department. Most of the University's teaching resources have been fed into a machine which can define new and exclusive paths to irrelevance but can not respond adequately to an educational innovation...
>
> What reply can we give to the...statement that we planted a British Redbrick in Waigani and we have failed to innovate or affiliate?

Halsey and Trow (1971:31) write that:

> Some kind of intellectual life goes on in all societies. There are always processes of cultural transmission to each new generation. There is, in other words, always teaching and hence the possibility of 'men of knowledge'.

The cultures of PNG, like those anywhere else, have always had processes of teaching. But the forms of indigenous teaching and the knowledge transmitted from generation to generation were not, for the most part, applicable to the educational system of a western university. Moreover, because of the retarded development of education in the past, especially of secondary education, the peoples of PNG have had little chance to experience more than the purely exploitive nature of western culture. The poorly developed education system in PNG meant that the indigenous students — those who had not been to Australia for secondary education — arrived at UPNG without the basic skills which every middle-class Australian university student takes for granted.

From the outset, the academic staff at UPNG identified the most intense pedagogical problem of indigenous students as being the lack of, in a western sense, a broad cultural background. This realization was as clear in the sciences as in the arts. In recommending the foundation of a university, the Currie Commission emphasized that indigenous students would not be prepared for early specialization in their degree training. In proposing the preliminary year the Commissioners (p. 123) wrote that:

> It should be appreciated that we do *not* think of this course as simply an extension of school subjects, but as a cultural broadening and a mental training. The primary objectives would seem to be two: training in the skills needed for full degree work, especially the assured use of the English language and possibly also of statistical concepts; and broadening the cultural outlook.

During the pioneering period, students' future employment also demanded a "broad cultural outlook" from the courses taught at the University. Indigenous students were not being trained as anthropologists, biologists, or historians or as other specialists. Though a few of the first students did go on to take higher degrees in specific disciplines, the primary task was to educate indigenous students to take over from the expatriate the top-level administrative positions in the public service. To function effectively in these positions students required a broad and general education. Upon graduation, students would experience accelerated promotion in whatever sphere of employment they took up, and no student could be sure what specific position he would end up in.

Most members of the academic staff were agreed upon the basic problems, but they were divided as to their resolution. The individual lecturer was caught between the pedagogical problems on the one hand, and on the other, the University's academic structure and his own academic background and experience. Narrow specialisation is common in Australian universities, especially in the older, more traditional institutions. The UPNG academic had difficulty in transcending his own background of specialised training in attempting to deal with problems created by the cultural background of his indigenous students. The conflict between those who wanted academic integration and those who wished to maintain strong individual disciplines, was motivated by the fact that even though academic staff accepted the need for adaptation, some considered that it was within the individual discipline that significant adaptations could be best achieved.

Nevertheless, in coming to terms with the educational problems faced by indigenous students, UPNG has slowly moved in the direction of greater academic integration. Towards the end of the pioneering period, the science common core, a partial move in the direction of structural integration, was implemented. Though the first proposal for a common Foundation Year was killed, the Arts Faculty continued its discussions and later introduced inter-disciplinary courses, foundation courses, and an Arts Foundation Year. But whether or not these and other structural alterations have helped to improve communication between departments and provide a broad integration of disciplines and courses, will be discussed in Part IV. Possibly, as we will explore in Chapter XI, a mere change in structure is, by itself, not a sufficient basis for academic integration.

UPNG's academic structure, once formulated, did not serve as a force for unity and cohesion. In fact, it never has. But structure was not the only source of internal conflict. Professional norms and values helped to separate members of the Faculty of Science and Arts. And neither group wished to sanction the professional authority of the other. The Faculty of Science considered that students came from a "science free culture", but members of the Faculty of Arts were not prepared to accept this as a valid concept. Nevertheless, the Science Faculty used it as a justification for not sharing their students' time with courses in the Arts Faculty.

Historical accident also played a part in generating conflicts, especially between the Associate Professor of Physics and the Professor of Mathematics. The physicist had developed a dislike for the Professor of Mathematics while a member of Wollongong College. He transferred this dislike to UPNG and fought the Professor of Mathematics on several issues, especially those which concerned structural arrangements that would have placed the Professor in a leadership role with regard to the sciences.

During the pioneering period the pedagogical problems were further complicated by the presence of a large number of European students and of Australian educated indigenous students. Their presence meant that in the classroom the lecturer had to cope with several cultural groups. UPNG was a confusing, novel, and stressful experience for many of its students, but the same could be said for members of academic staff. In 1968, the Foundation Professor of Education (Roe, p. 128) wrote that:

> It is salutory to remind ourselves from time to time that, from the point of view of the Papuan or New Guinean, the expatriate may be stupid, uncomprehending, misguided, slow to learn; and that the "learning difficulties" so often referred to may be ours as much as theirs.

During the pioneering period, the most significant change in the institution was its sheer growth. In that an institution was being built, everything was change. But towards the end of this period other subtle factors became important. With increase in size and with further development of the secondary education system, indigenous students began to predominate; indigenous students who had not been to Australia. Also, lecturers began to lose the social contact with their students which had previously characterized the social scene of the pioneering period. This was a product of increased numbers, but it was also the product of cultural diversity.

The new indigenous students were somewhat different from the previous ones. They had different ideas about university education and their role within it. The high percentage of Europeans within the undergraduate student body was beginning to fall off. This made for some significant changes within the classroom. On the one hand, standards within the classroom fell, while on the other, the country's cultural background played an even more important role within the day-to-day functioning of the University. Secondary schools were being built in the Highlands and the University enrolled a greater number of students from the Highland districts. These students had more intense pedagogical problems than any other group. These and other factors involved with the University's development will be discussed in Part IV.

NOTES

1. April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
2. Supposedly, what the authors meant by "purposeful activity" was a "western work ethic". Nevertheless, comments such as this show a disregard for indigenous cultures and values and they occur far too often both within and without the new university in the new state.
3. "Academic Matters for the Interim Council Consideration", Working Paper to UPNG Interim Council. June 1966, Interim Council File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
4. The government programme of sending selected PNG students south for secondary education was phased out in 1973. Even so, in 1973 about two hundred PNG students were attending Australian high schools.
5. In the early years, nearly all examiners were drawn from Australian universities. This helped to further comparisons between UPNG and Australian university standards. Today the use of external examiners has been phased out and replaced by a system of external consultants. They are recruited from those academics with extensive experience of higher education in new nations, and are often of non-Australian nationality.
6. Professor K. Lamb, "Review of Science Student Achievement, 1967", 4 March 1968, Mimeograph, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
7. Professor P. Karmel, "The University of Papua and New Guinea", October 1965, Interim Council File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
8. For example, there has been, for the most part, less employment mobility for the early Foundation Professors in the Faculty of Science than in the Faculty of Arts. The Associate Professor of Physics was the most prestigious member of the Science Faculty and upon leaving UPNG he took up the chair of Physics at Murdoch University. However, in 1975 the Professors of Chemistry and Biology still held their positions at UPNG. By 1975 all the early Foundation Professors in the Faculty of Arts had, except for the Professor of Mathematics, departed UPNG. On departure from UPNG, the first Professor of Sociology and

Anthropology was appointed Professor of Social Anthropology, University of Auckland; the Professor of Economics was appointed Professor of Economics, University of Otago; the Professor of Education was appointed Director of the Teritary Education Institute, University of Queensland (Education did not become a separate faculty until 1971); the Professor of English was appointed Director, Hawaiian Curriculum Centre; the Professor of Geography was appointed Professor of Human Geography, Australian National University; the Professor of History became UPNG's second Vice-Chancellor and is now Professor of History, Australian National University; and the Professor of Political Studies was appointed Director of the Australian Academy of Social Sciences.

9. At UPNG the Faculty of Arts contains the social sciences, humanities, mathematics and, up to 1971, education.
10. A gross line of demarcation is being made by treating the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Science as two mutually exclusive groups. Neither group could claim complete unity in terms of values held by their members, orientations or interests. There are a variety of levels on which the interests of all academic staff members overlap. Both Faculties are set in the context of the Institution and ultimately seek justification from it. However, there are occasions when each Faculty acts as if it had solidarity; occasions when the combined interests of one Faculty are in conflict with those of the other. One such occasion is the annual battle over the level of staff allocations.
11. Interview with Professor K. Inglis, March 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
12. ibid.
13. Minutes of Academic Committee and Professorial Appointees meeting at University House, Canberra, 9-10 May 1966, Academic Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
14. Professor D. Drover, "Memorandum on the Organization of Schools within the University", to the Vice-Chancellor, 26 August 1966, Academic Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby. In Australia the school structure of academic organization has been employed by several new universities in the attempt to integrate "like" disciplines. For example, in the School of History, Philosophy and Politics at Macquarie University a student can construct a "coherent major" by combining certain courses from each discipline.
15. The quotations provided are drawn from the "Minutes of Academic Staff Meeting", 12 April 1967 and 17 May 1967, Academic Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
16. Interview with John Gough, Lecturer in Chemistry, UPNG, June 1975.
17. This "fear" was expressed in several interviews with foundation members of the science Faculty.
18. Dr J.T. Gunther, Memorandum on Future University Development to Professor D. Drover, 18 July 1968, University Development File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
19. Dr B. Mainsbridge to Dr J.T. Gunther, 8 April 1968, University Development File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
20. Dr J.T. Gunther to Dr B. Mainsbridge, 9 April 1968, University Development File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

21. Interview with Professor M. McKay, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
22. See Dr J.T. Gunther, "Notes on Development: University of Papua and New Guinea", working paper for the Interim Council, May 1968, University Development File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
23. Dr J.T. Gunther to Professor W.A.C. Stewart, 7 July 1969, Foundation Year File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
24. Minutes of Foundation Year Committee Meeting, 22 September 1969, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
25. Professor B. Williams, "UPNG and the Keele System", March 1970, Foundation Year File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
26. ibid.
27. ibid.
28. Professor B. Mainsbridge, "*Fluctuat nes Meritar*", Memorandum to all members of the Faculty of Arts, August 1970 (presented to Faculty of Arts meeting, 2 September 1970), Faculty of Arts File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

PART IV

THE FIRST STAGE OF CONSOLIDATION

CHAPTER IX

INTRODUCTION TO PART IV

The Vice-Chancellor, like all early senior staff, was subject to a six-year contract. Gunther chose not to renew his contract with the University and retired on 8 May 1972. One of the primary reasons for Gunther's retirement was personal health. But he had also lived out his usefulness to the institution. In terms of his personal characteristics, Gunther was a man more attuned to building an institution than maintaining one. The pioneering days were drawing to a close and the University was moving into a second phase of development, a phase most members saw in terms of consolidation.

Between 1972 and the beginning of 1975, the University added a Faculty of Agriculture and took over the control of Goroka Teachers College in the Highlands. Also, the number of students and the number of teaching staff increased steadily until 1975. But the University had already passed through its major growth period. The bulk of the institution's capital works programmes had seen fruition; the foundation had been laid and the institution's growth was commencing to stabilize. The past development of the institution had been rapid, and in some respects, somewhat haphazard. The time had arrived to consolidate and rationalize the previous achievements.

Gunther's retirement was well-timed. In 1972 the political situation in the country changed dramatically with the election of the National Coalition to power. Self-government soon followed in 1973. Gunther did not believe he would have had problems living with the new government; he was on friendly terms with the majority of the local politicians as well as with the majority of indigenous students. When it seemed the selection committee (a sub-committee of University Council) charged to appoint a new Vice-Chancellor could not get the man its members wanted, the student members of the committee asked Gunther to take up another term. However, he was beginning to experience resistance from the academic community and there could have been a "revolt" had he remained Vice-Chancellor. Pressure was mounting against his autocratic style of administration, and a number of junior academic staff members were agitating for a greater degree of involvement in the decision-making process. Gunther did not like committees and he did not believe in a structure of academic government based upon complete democracy.(1)

Gunther perceived Professor Inglis as one who believed in the democracy of academic government, and this is one reason why he wished Inglis to succeed him.(2) Gunther had the foresight and sensitivity to recognize that changes were possibly required, though he could not accept them himself.

There are several reasons why Inglis was the main nominee to succeed Gunther as Vice-Chancellor. First, there was strong, though not unanimous, support for him within the University. On many occasions he had served as the acting Vice-Chancellor and proved himself a most capable administrator. But more significantly, the institution was already looking ahead to the time when a Papua New Guinean would be available to fill the Chair. After a 1970 tour of African universities, Gunther addressed himself to the fate of the Vice-Chancellorship. He saw in Africa a conscious effort to "africanize" university administrations and academic positions where possible. He realized that an independent government of PNG would want a black Vice-Chancellor and he wrote in 1970 that:(3)

> ...the alternatives, therefore, are fairly simple: replace me in 1972, either by a white on a short-term appointment, or by an African or West Indian on a six-year appointment; or two, extend my appointment till 1975...and hope a Nuiginian has matured sufficiently to become Vice-Chancellor at that time.

Gunther did not wish for his appointment to be extended and it was thought at the time that a suitable Papua New Guinean candidate for the position was not available. The selection committee did give some consideration to the appointment of a black expatriate as Vice-Chancellor, but the general opinion of University members was that it was better to keep continuity rather than to bring in someone from outside. The appointment of Inglis would preserve continuity and serve to bridge the gap between the retirement of Gunther and the day when a Papua New Guinean would be available for the Chair. In part, it was upon these terms Inglis was persuaded to accept the appointment under the condition that it be for a three-year contract period only.

In May 1972 Inglis took over an institution with more than twelve hundred students, six hundred members of staff, and with the majority of its buildings established. As we saw in Part III, Gunther, in performing his duties as Vice-Chancellor, did not always play strictly by the rules. However, if he had, it is doubtful if the institution he passed on would have been of either the size or quality achieved. Inglis took over a functioning institution, one which Gunther helped create by sheer determination, political bargaining, browbeating, coy diplomacy, and a sensitivity to the times and situation. The institution was about to turn upon its Chief Administrator with some resentment for his personal and unique qualities; qualities which, in the beginning, helped to give the institution its life and vitality.

Inglis was required to play a much different role than Gunther as Vice-Chancellor. During his stewardship, a rationalization of internal structures and an overall stabilization of the University occurred. In addition, Inglis had many restrictions placed upon his role. Primarily, he was charged with the stewardship until such time as a Papua New Guinean could be found to take over. In many spheres this limited him to a "holding operation" so as not to restrict the options available to the first national Vice-Chancellor.

During the first period of consolidation, changes in the exogenous environment dramatically affected the role of the institution in the society. Basically, the University relinquished its power of critique over the society, lost some degree of control over its own fate, and became less valuable to many of its members. By 1975 many of the same members of the academic community who had previously criticized Gunther for his autocratic style, were now criticizing Inglis for his "liberal attitudes" and for the lack of direction provided to the institution. However, what will be demonstrated in the following Chapters is that what was seen by many of its members as a decline in UPNG, was not due to the role of any one person, but due to overall institutional processes.

Chapter XI deals with changes in the University's internal structure and membership, while the preceding Chapter, which explores the change in relationship between the University and the exogenous environment, sets the scene for the discussion of these topics. Chapter XII offers a discussion upon the changing nature and character of the indigenous student body.

NOTES

1. Interview with Dr J.T. Gunther, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
2. ibid.
3. Dr J.T. Gunther to Professor P.H. Karmel, 10 July 1970, Vice-Chancellor's Correspondence File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

CHAPTER X

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY AND A NEW EXOGENOUS ENVIRONMENT

FORMAL LINKS BETWEEN UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT

UPNG, like Australian universities, is funded by the government. From the outset, the amount of finances available to the University was assessed in relation to the country's other priorities. Money spent on the University was money not spent elsewhere. By 1972 one-quarter of the total educational expenditure in PNG was devoted to the development of the country's two universities. The Chief Minister, in a public address at the University's seventh Graduation Ceremony (*UPNG News*, June 1973:5) stated that it cost the government over $50,000 for every indigenous graduate produced at UPNG. All universities are expensive, but in terms of the economy of a new nation, university expenditure is exorbitant..

In purely economic terms, a society desires some tangible benefits for its heavy investment in higher education. It is not only in the new state that universities receive publicity as being privileged, pampered, elitist, arrogant, and parasitic. Increasingly, in many a "developed" country the amount of public money allocated to universities is being closely scrutinized. In the new nation where the relative expense of higher education is so very high, it is no wonder that governments wish to keep a close check upon the development of tertiary institutions.

Since the report of the Currie Commission, several other commissions of enquiry into the development of higher education in PNG have made recommendations directly affecting the University. Commissions of enquiry are of interest to our discussion for two basic reasons. One, the detailed recommendations produced by such commissions provide information on the attitude of governments towards the institutions under examination. Two, beyond the specific and detailed proposals such commissions formulate, the manner in which they are or are not enacted, provide hints upon three basic factors: a) the relative power and prestige of the institution, b) the climate of public opinion, and c) the interaction between the institution and its environment.

By the end of the last decade, it was obvious that the growth of secondary education in PNG was not only rapid, but also rather haphazard and fragmentary. In December 1970, in an attempt to rationalize and co-ordinate post-secondary and tertiary education in PNG, the Minister for Territories appointed "The Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education in Papua New Guinea" (Sir Allen Brown, Chairman), which reported to the Minister in September 1971.

The Committee saw the lack of machinery to co-ordinate and rationalize the development of the country's educational institutions as a grave problem for PNG. The report recommended "...the establishment of permanent machinery to advise the Government on the continuing development of higher education in Papua New Guinea". Such machinery was to be embodied by a Commission of Higher Education with an Office of Higher Education and a Finance Committee to advise and service the Commission. Throughout 1972 and the first half of 1973, there was extensive debate over the implementations of the Brown recommendations.

The debate over the establishment of a Commission on Higher Education was, at first, between the University and the Minister. The University was worried about the proposed Commission's terms of reference. Gunther opposed arrangements whereby the Commission would have some say over University staffing levels, conditions of employment, and other areas which were thought to be the sole province of the University Council.

With the retirement of Gunther in 1972 and the introduction of self-government in 1973, the negotiations over the establishment of the Commission involved different actors. Points of contention still arose; some members of government wished the Commission to come under the province of the Ministry of Education, while the University wished it to be more autonomous, being responsible to the Chief Minister's Office. Though there was some disagreement between the University and government over the structure of the Commission, there was a marked difference in the style and tone of the debate. The criticism and publicity sponsored by the University in the past would have been out of place under the new circumstances. A more congenial approach was now required.(1) Inglis negotiated directly with the relevant government official when an issue was at hand. If the University did not receive what it wanted from a certain decision, then re-negotiation would take place, rather than a case put to the public. Negotiations over the structure of the Higher Education Commission continued for some time.

By mid-1973 other events were to overtake the considerations of the establishment of a Commission of Higher Education. The government deferred consideration of the draft bill, and it disappeared into limbo. The Brown Committee was primarily an Australian body appointed by a colonial government. The new government decided that it wished to appoint its own commission of inquiry into the development of higher education in PNG — a commission consisting of primarily Papua New Guinean members.

The Office of Higher Education and the Financial Review Committee were established. Both bodies came within the confines of the Department of Education, with the Minister for Education being the responsible Minister for all matters relating to higher education. It is interesting to note that in the discussions over the draft legislation which would create the Commission of Higher Education, the University was adamant that the Commission should not be directly responsible to the Minister for Education. Nevertheless, by having the legislation postponed indefinitely, the University has been more directly related to the Department of Education. The appointment of the Director of Education as Chancellor of the University in 1975 further entrenched this relationship.

One of the major ongoing links between the University and government is provided by the institution's obvious need for financial support, being almost totally dependent upon government for its money. The University's Financial Review Committee (Mr M. Tigilai, Chairman), replaced the old system of a one-man financial advisor, and now acts as a major structural link between the University and the government. The University must justify its expenditure to the Committee; in approving the allocations of funds to the University, the Committee is approving of certain forms and directions of development.

Each year the University puts a detailed financial submission to government. Internally, departments and faculties jostle each other for their respective share of the financial cake, and debates which arise over departmental staffing levels and other budgeting matters can become quite heated. But once the final version of the financial submission is written, it appears as a rational, detailed, and balanced document which requests the bare minimum of funds for the proper functioning of the University. The final document ignores the conflict of groups, ideals, and philosophy which were inherent in its formation. To those who view the submission externally to the institution, it seems to be a document which sets out the University's rationale for the retention of old schemes and the planning of new ones. However, in actuality the financial submission is an attempt to balance internal demands, as the University's Planning Officer (O'Neill, 1974:6) has observed:

> When our obligation is to write up a submission each year it is hard to make a distinction between planning the future of the university and drawing up a budget...so long as the preparation of triennial estimates is seen as a substitute for planning we will continue to face problems: there will be little correspondence between university development and national objectives; there will seem to be little apparent advantage in thinking too far ahead; there will be no firm commitment to university developments either by government or the university.

Of course, the University rarely receives all the funds it requests. The norm in the past has been for the University to ask for a certain amount of money, the government to grant an amount less than requested, and then for the University, through either public debate or private negotiation, to recoup some of the loss. During the pioneering period, financial cuts were often recouped through public debate, while since self-government and independence the University has been reluctant to fight in public with the new government over funding levels.

During the early years of the first period of consolidation, it became obvious to the new government that the University could not be financed at the same level as had previously operated. As capital works programmes have reached fruition, the great bulk of University expenditure is in terms of recurrent commitments, in which payment of expatriate staff salaries is predominant. Early in 1973 the academic staff of Australian universities received a substantial increase in salary, and it had always been a policy that the Administration would allow all pay increases approved in Australian universities to flow on to the expatriate academic staff at UPNG. Besides the basic salary, expatriate academics at UPNG received other fringe benefits, for example, the payment of overseas airfares, a Territory living allowance, a child allowance, an allowance for sending their children to overseas boarding schools, and subsidized housing. This made the salary level paid to expatriate academics at UPNG among the highest in the world. But it should be noted that the cost of living in Port Moresby is high. Expatriates have difficulty in obtaining the western consumer goods they could get quite easily in their home countries. People working for the Australian government in any isolated place, such as Darwin in the Northern Territory, would receive an allowance for sending their children to boarding school. The high salaries paid at UPNG were, in part, compensation for adverse living conditions.

The question of whether the Australian increase in academic salaries should be allowed to flow on to expatriate academics working at UPNG provided the new government with one of its first major decisions with regard to the University. The Cabinet appointed "The Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries" to investigate the issue. The Committee had rather broad terms of reference but, for the lack of clear policy decisions in some areas, the members chose to concentrate upon the flow-on issue. The Committee, chaired by Dr G. Gris, reported in July 1973, and recommended that the salaries at PNG's universities should be decided on the basis of the country's needs and conditions and not on those of any other country. Though the Committee decided that the salary increase in Australia should not flow on to PNG, it recognized the obligation to pay the increase to those staff members on existing contracts.

For the future, the nexus between UPNG salaries and Australian university salaries was broken. However, this decision effectively created three salary scales within the institution: one salary scale applicable to expatriate academics on contract prior to July 1973 who received an *ex gratia* payment due to contract obligations, another salary scale applicable to expatriate academics on contract after July 1973, and a third scale applicable to indigenous academics. The higher pay reward to expatriates on contract prior to July 1973 was to be for only a three-year duration, or for the duration of a contract, whichever came first. Also, recent salary adjustments have helped to nullify the disparities between these two scales. However, the gap between the salary paid to the expatriate academic and the local salary scale remains as significant as ever. The indigenous employee receives about one half the salary payable to the expatriate performing the same duties. This is national policy, and applies to all public institutions. However, this does not relieve the ill-feeling caused by such blatant economic disparity.

By abandoning the policy of maintaining parity of academic salaries with those of Australian universities, some discontent was generated. It was felt by a few that the recruitment of new staff would be jeopardized, and those already at the University would wish to leave. However, the salary issue per se did not have any grave ramifications. A few academics did leave the University because the nexus with Australia had been broken and from 1973 onwards, in terms of salary, the University was no longer so attractive to the Australian academic. But for the academics of other nationalities, such as British or New Zealand, the level of salary remained attractive. The change in salary base is only one of a culmination of issues which led to a weakening of members' commitment to the institution.

The Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries saw the need to investigate broader issues. It was recommended that the Committee be expanded in order to investigate "the goals of tertiary education in Papua New Guinea and the nature of the process seeking to achieve those goals". The University had set up its own working party to consider future development. But the Committee felt that the government itself should lay down guidelines for the kind of university it considers to be of value to the country. In framing the recommendation for an expanded enquiry, the Committee made reference to the elite nature of students and the obvious material discrimination between black and white. The University was founded in order to produce an educated elite in PNG. But it was now being criticized for doing exactly what it was intended to do. The authors (p. 9) stated that:

> This country was one of the world's most egalitarian societies. Its universities are helping to turn it into an unusually stratified society in a remarkably short time. This is contrary to the government's 8-point plan and other indications of government policy.

Cabinet approved the establishment of an expanded committee of enquiry and in June 1973, authorized the Minister for Education to set up "The Committee of Enquiry into University Development" (the Gris Committee). Dr Gris,(2) Chairman of the Committee of Enquiry, was first introduced to the University as the Chairman of the Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries. The Deputy Vice-Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor were impressed with Dr Gris and his administrative qualities. Dr F. Oldfield (Deputy Vice-Chancellor) thought Gris should be tailored for the Vice-Chancellorship, and the Vice-Chancellor concurred.(3) Gris became Deputy Vice-Chancellor in 1974, upon the retirement of Oldfield. Thus, Gris was appointed to the University before the government committee which he chaired had made its report. Dr Gris became the third UPNG Vice-Chancellor in April 1975.

The Gris Committee shared some membership with the University's own "Working Party on the Future of the University" (Dr F. Oldfield, Chairman). A few of the recommendations to be made by the Gris Report were to reflect those made by the Working Party. In an official sense, with the sharing of membership and the Chairman a member of the University's administration, the Committee of Enquiry into University Development was by no means an alien body to the institution. But unofficially, many members of the University community resented the establishment of the Gris Committee. The expatriate academic, especially those of Australian nationality, had already suffered a blow to their pride with regard to the reduction in salary. The Gris Committee was charged with creating guidelines by which to make the University more relevant to national objectives. To some, the Committee represented undue interference in University affairs. To others, it was feared that the Committee would belittle the institution's past achievements.(4) In other words, it was believed by some that the Gris Committee would not give the necessary concern to the University as a high-stature institute of learning. However, such attitudes were rarely expressed publicly; rather, they were attitudes expressed off the record and in private conversation. This was in accord with the aura of silence which was to dominate the institution's public image after self-government — a subject to be discussed in the following section of this Chapter.

The Committee of Enquiry into University Development issued its report at the end of 1974. The general tone was that in order for the University to combat the tendency for students to develop "self-serving elitist attitudes", life amongst both staff and students should become less luxurious and more self-reliant. Such spartan measures as the removal of automatic washing machines from the student dormitories and the University refusing to install air-conditioning units in the studies of staff members' homes were proposed. Other less trivial recommendations proposed the establishment of one national university, extension of University activities to the broader community, work-study programmes, and the close scrutiny of manpower planning. Throughout the report, it was stressed that the University should establish programmes to best serve rural development.

The Academic Board (the supreme academic decision-making body), the University Council, the Staff Association, and the other faculty and departmental committees who examined the Gris Report gave it their support, with minor reservations. The Report was widely discussed within the University throughout 1975. Some members of the University were much less enthusiastic about the Report in private conversation than they were in public. Nevertheless, the Report received a favourable hearing by the academic community, with some saying it was the most significant report on higher education in PNG since that of the Currie Commission.

However laudable the Committee's Report, its significance to the University in terms of structural change has been minimal. For the recommendations of the Gris Report to have been put into action, three things were required. One, the Report needed some general acceptance by University members; this acceptance was forthcoming, at least in terms of official attitudes. Two, Gris himself was required to serve two roles — Vice-Chancellor of the University and author of the Gris Report. The arduous and time-consuming role of Vice-Chancellor seemed to override the duties of authorship, and as Vice-Chancellor, Gris often found himself in conflict with the interests and aims of the Report. Three, a vital requirement for enacting the Committee's recommendations was government support. The government showed a conspicuous lack of interest; the most significant reason being a financial one (Ballard, 1977:118).

The Somare coalition was faced with running an extremely large, complicated, and expensive public service inherited from Australia. At its height under colonialism, the public service in PNG employed over 7,600 overseas staff in order to manage the affairs of 2.5 million Melanesians, a figure which puts to shame the British effort in both Africa and India (Ballard, 1973:6). Coming to terms with the country's bureaucracy was of more importance to government than restructuring the University. The main expectation the government had of the University was for the institution to fulfill its function, that is, to supply the society with graduate manpower — especially the manpower required to localise the public service.

The recommendations made during the first stage of consolidation by committees of enquiry into University development and orientation were of more interest internally to the institution than to the general society. The average PNG citizen had little idea of what a university was about, except that it was a place where their sons and daughters might aspire to go in order to gain the qualifications for a good job, and the government had more pressing concerns than university development.

AN INAPPROPRIATE SAGA

In Part III the process was discussed whereby during UPNG's early years its members built an organizational "saga". The saga provided members of the University with the moral justification to advance the institution over other educational institutions (for example, the then Institute of Higher Technical Education), to pursue foreign standards of learning with vigour, to jealously guard the University's autonomy, and to criticize and change the institution's exogenous environment.

By 1975 members of the University had become painfully aware that the institution's saga no longer provided the moral justification for action, and in fact, traditions and attitudes built up during the pioneering period were now becoming inappropriate for the institution. However, the decline in the institution's saga was not due to its failure in the past, but rather to its past success. To understand the present loss in faith in the University by many of its members, and their questioning of the goals and aims to be achieved by the institution, the decline in the University's saga needs to be examined in some detail.

The Political Scene. As already indicated, the most dramatic change in the University's exogenous environment was the accession of the National Coalition Government to power in April 1972, and self-government for PNG which followed in January 1973. Institutions, legislation, national aims, budgetary considerations, and so on, were now in the hands of Papua New Guineans, at least officially. In terms of University/government relations, decision-making at Konedobu (the suburb of Port Moresby where, before independence, government offices were located), was no longer subject to the strict scrutiny and sometimes interference of Canberra. Australian colonialism in PNG was drawing to an end.

There was a great deal of euphoria at the University when the 1972 election results were announced. Many of the students had campaigned in their home districts for candidates of both the Pangu and the National Parties, and some students ran for election themselves, but without success. The politicians to become Ministers in the new government had, prior to the 1972 elections, been frequent visitors to the University. Many UPNG academics were close friends of the new politicians. Both parties in the coalition appointed UPNG students as their national secretaries, while other students and graduates were appointed as ministerial private secretaries. Members of the academic staff were drafted by government departments for policy considerations.

In the first few months after the elections, relations between the new government and the University were quite close. The Somare coalition incorporated most of the well-educated and talented local politicians. In addition, the coalition was more sympathetic to the University than the alternative government would have been; the United Party, with a large constituent of white planters, was fairly well estranged from the academic community at Waigani.

With a national government in power, there was a general feeling among expatriate staff of the University that they should "curb their critical tongues". This was a conscious decision; members felt the new government deserved a "fair go", a basic Australian attitude. In addition, the expatriate academic community recognized the position in which the political events placed them; they were largely a white, liberal community, set between black students and a national government. The Dean of the Law Faculty, in a memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor, implies a few of the possible consequences for the University inherent in the new relationship:(5)

> The statement was made [during the June 1972 Professorial Board meeting] that the University should be able to voice its view on national priorities, even when these views are opposed to the views of the government. For a long time the University will be 'all white', at least at the level of expressing these views, and the government will be 'all black'. I think (from past experience, not confined to East Africa) that it would be highly dangerous and most unwise if this atmosphere of conflict was permitted to develop, let alone be regarded as a proper function of the University. It would be the surest way of forcing a government takeover — as has happened everywhere else where I have observed a white Senate standing 'on principle', against a black government.

Nevertheless, University members felt a strong affinity with the new government and hoped to participate with it in building an ideological framework for the development of the country. The national aims expressed by the governent in the "Eight Point Plan" were acceptable to the majority of the academic staff for their emphasis upon rural development and anti-elitism.

Because of the uneven nature of colonial development, the various districts in PNG could not compete equally at the national level. The peoples of the less developed districts felt threatened by those who had had a longer history of participation in a cash economy and in other aspects of the colonially-introduced western culture. The peoples of the more advantaged areas were jealous of their resources and position, and often saw themselves as set apart from the nation as a whole. The problem faced by the new government was how to balance the demands and desire for power arising from the various districts, while at the same time creating an effective "nation-state".

Critics of the new government, some of whom were graduates and past students of the University, were seeking to gain more political autonomy for their home districts. Government Ministers were accused of self-serving elitism, nepotism, and corruption, and their policies and programmes were criticized for a lack of commitment to the country's rural poor. The political debate was first articulated by certain highly educated members of the government's own Constitutional Planning Committee (Ballard, 1977:121). But it was soon taken up by students at the University.

Students commenced to argue for an increased emphasis upon rural development and for more political autonomy for individual districts. They voiced their discontent with the government at student forums and in letters to the local newspaper. Once again, the University provided a stage for critical comment upon government policy. However this new critique was substantially different from the one which had gone before; it no longer involved the institution as such.

Students do not act as an organized political interest group on the national level. Ethnicity and regional ties militate against the student body becoming an organized polity. Moreover, the political interest of those students active in political affairs lay at the district level, not at the national level. Though the seat of government is in Port Moresby, the most vital and politically important activity is occurring in the provinces. Increasingly, the government and the economy of the nation is becoming dependent upon the wealth and interests of individual provinces. Student interest in regional politics demonstrates a high level of political acumen.

However, there have been occasions when students have mounted political protests against the government at the national level. The first occasion occurred in June 1974. A student strike arose initially over the poor quality of food at the University and over the failure of the government to grant a request for an increase to students' fortnightly allowances (Grocott, 1975, and Ballard, 1977). Students added other more pertinent issues to the strike: a freeze on high officials' salaries, accusations of nepotism in government appointments, an increase in the minimum urban wage, renegotiation of the Bougainville Copper Mining Contract, a curtailment of ministers' overseas travel, and for the government to sell a newly acquired ministerial retreat.

The strike was very well managed by the skill of an SRC (Students' Representative Council) president from the Solomon Islands. Student unity was strong, more so than at any other time past or present. The criticism and non-commitment to rural development gave students a justifiable moral stance. A compromise was reached over student demands for an increase in their allowance, an issue which also put doubt in the minds of government officials with regard to students' degree of anti-elitism and their commitment to the rural poor.

The second major student strike occurred almost exactly one year later. On Thursday 22 May 1975 a forum was held by students to discuss a recent decision by Cabinet to recommend the appointment of the Queen as the Head of State of PNG. Students felt that the Queen as Head of State was a neo-colonialistic and paternalistic policy. Several political leaders addressed the forum with views similar to those of students. It was decided that some action needed to be taken in order to make the student opposition known to government. The following day students decided to stage a march on the government offices. Also, further issues were attached to the original complaint: nepotism in the making of diplomatic appointments, and corruption within the ministry.

The 1975 strike had neither the moral purpose nor the organization of the 1974 strike. Students congregated at the government buildings in front of a police line. Behind these buildings out of the view of students, a large number of well-equipped riot police waited to be called into action if the regular police could not handle the situation. A stalemate situation was soon reached, with students demanding the Chief Minister to address all the students, and the Chief Minister consenting to see only a student deputation. After a few hours standing in the hot sun, the protest soon dissolved, along with student political credibility (Ballard, 1977).

The strike continued throughout the next week, with student leaders frantically attempting to find an issue around which to rally support. However, the strike accomplished little for the students except for engendering negative opinions of students amongst government leaders and the general community. By the end of the week the strike simply dissolved.

The University is placed in a difficult position during the course of student political activities. On the one hand, the institution has played it safe with students. The administrators and academics have been most careful not to let the University be identified by students as another political issue. In 1974 classes were cancelled during the strike, and though for most of the 1975 strike classes were officially held, students were not penalised for non-attendance. The University regards student political activities as their own affair. At a special Academic Board meeting held during the 1975 student strike, an academic of Nigerian nationality voiced an opinion felt by many present "because staff are not nationals there is no communication between staff and students. Staff are completely ineffective".

On the other hand, the University has been careful not to be identified by the government as an instigator or supporter of student political activities. On the occasions of both strikes, disaster was barely avoided. There were feelings at the time among many high-level public servants (mainly expatriates, not indigenous graduates) and government ministers that the riot police should have been sent in upon the students. It has only been through careful and reasoned argument by University officials with government members that police action against students has not occurred. During the 1975 student strike the police had an obligation to investigate a charge of assault lodged against certain students by a private citizen. Through protracted bargaining, University officials were able to delay police investigation until after the conclusion of the strike; police activity on campus during the strike would only have served to escalate the tension.

Effectively, the University has sold to students its franchise of social critique and now serves as a buffer between students and government. Academic staff no longer write their critical articles and letters on government policy to the editor of the local newspaper. While expatriate staff may morally support some of the students' political attacks on government, such support is not voiced publicly. "Silence" with regard to political affairs has become the most significant characteristic of the academic community.

So far, students have failed to provide a viable counter-force to government policy on the national level; they have not been able to continue their saga. In fact, student attempts to enter into national politics have lost them much credibility in the community. The mismanagement of the 1975 strike presented to the community a poor image of students. Moreover, national politics is not of great concern to the average UPNG student. For those students who are interested in political activity on the national level, there is a conspicuous lack of overt academic support. In many universities, a politically active student body usually has gone hand in hand with an element of political activity amongst members of the academic staff.

Shils (1968b:21) notes that "the tradition of oppositional politics", along with other factors, serves to politically alienate students and intellectuals in the new state. Also, according to Shils, "[the intellectuals] do not give a lead to an affirmatively critical public opinion — *they are the public opinion* and usually their opinions are not considered and this drives them further into opposition".

This situation is particularly true of students and intellectuals in PNG; on the national level students and others in opposition to government policies are the public opinion, and at the national level often find themselves without support from the general populace. But the general populace is not greatly interested in national politics except for the effect of policies on provincial interests. On the provincial level individuals, including a number of UPNG students and graduates, have effectively led public opposition to government policies. The mere strengthening and articulation of provincial interests has been a partial result of the interaction between intellectual, western-educated leaders and local public opinion. The void in political critique in PNG is on the national level, which in itself may have grave consequences for the future political unity of the country. But it would be a mistake to view those students, graduates and other members of the society who are in opposition to the government as totally alienated, or without effect upon the government; certain provincial movements, articulated through educated leaders, have changed national policies.

Internal Consequences. The folly of a largely white, expatriate academic community aligning itself with, or offering aid to, an active political campaign against a black government is easily imaginable. However, the change in the political role of academic staff was not, at least initially, due entirely to a loss of nerve on their part; rather, expatriate staff had made the conscious decision to keep quiet. This decision was often given official sanction by the Vice-Chancellor in public addresses. But during the period of field research, expatriate staff often said that the institution had remained silent too long. As one member of staff said: "In 1972 the new government deserved a 'fair go'. But they have now had a 'good run', it is time for the University to speak out. However, it may now be too late".

With self-government in PNG, it was no longer appropriate for the expatriate academic to be highly critical of government policies. During the pioneering period, institutional members had one very effective political lever for achieving specific goals. If members felt that the University did not receive the necessary finances or that internal affairs received undue interference from government, then members could state publicly that Australia was attempting to provide PNG with a second-rate, low standard institution. Such arguments proved effective in placing public opinion in Australia on the side of the University, and in placing the Australian government in an embarrassing position internationally. The Territory Administration was to some degree responsible to the United Nations. The Australian government was sensitive to any suggestions that the establishment of UPNG was mere "window dressing" for the benefit of UN investigation commissions. Once the political power in PNG passed from a colonial to a national government, members of the University could no longer accuse the new government of colonial subjugation of the institution.

With the 1972 elections it was no longer necessary for the institution to actively campaign for social change. The saga — the University as social critic and champion of reform against a colonial government — had achieved success; the society had taken a significant step towards adapting to the social structure the University helped to create. But the University has lost its power of critique over the PNG society and must itself conform. Where the University once actively agitated for social change, the present institution merely forms lines of defense against encroachments upon its autonomy. Members of the expatriate academic community have now become outsiders to what was, in part, their own creation.

Members of the University have now commenced to resent their own liberal attitudes, their role of self-enforced silence, and the degree of isolation in which they are now placed. In the attempt to be relevant, uncritical, or neutral in regard to national affairs and to avoid confrontation with students, many members of the University feel they have now forfeited their chance of being truly effective. "The white man has created a 'frankenstein'" said one senior academic, "they have this body but don't know what to do with it".

The pioneering period was a time of creation, excitement, and advancement for UPNG. By contrast, the first period of consolidation was much less exciting for those with a will to create. The frontier lay in the direction of consolidating past achievements and bending those achievements to the needs of PNG society. But members of the University have approached the future with uncertainty. The institution's saga no longer unites University members nor provides them with justification for action.

The new government has been more certain in its view of the role it expects the University to perform in fulfilling the needs of PNG society. It expects the University to supply the country with skilled manpower according to specified numbers in certain categories. The government, especially members of the Office of Higher Education, is aware of the experience of higher education in India and other countries where the number of university graduates in certain categories has far exceeded the number of jobs available. In order to avoid the development of a similar situation in PNG and the resulting ill-effects it would have on the society, the government in 1976 commenced, through the allocation of scholarships, to stream students within the University and to set quotas on the number of students allowed to enrol for certain degrees. Students with the highest grades in secondary school or in the University's preliminary year are given their first choice as to the area in which they wish to take a degree. Once an area has the required number of enrolments, the students are directed to other areas dependent on their second or third choices.

The University and the government are not at loggerheads over manpower planning as such; the University has always accepted the validity of the overall scheme. However, there is some difference of opinion over the methods by which the aims of manpower planning should be achieved. The University, and especially the Faculty of Arts, for obvious pedagogical and political reasons, emphasizes student freedom in choosing a career, and discouraging early specialization. The Office of Higher Education places the emphasis on the streaming of students upon enrolment, according to specific manpower requirements.

Merely by producing indigenous graduates, the University helps to create the present-day social structure of PNG and furthers the country's adaptation to that social structure. The University played a most significant role in sponsoring progressive political change in PNG, and in prompting Papua New Guineans to take control of the country's institutions. But as foreign institutions become firmly entrenched in the PNG environment, the University must itself adapt to the social structure it helped to create. Of course the process of change continues, but it becomes less positive and less concerned with radical alternatives. The University becomes a passive participant in the overall adaptation process, assigned to the utilitarian role of producing trained manpower.

Members of the University community found it easier to be critical of Australian colonial policies and to sponsor progress towards a free and independent PNG state, than to live with their creation. The saga of the University as a high-minded social critic, as the premier educational institution in the country, and as an institution with moral justification on its side, vis-a-vis colonial policies, was, after 1972, no longer appropriate. Moreover, a new set of values and beliefs to provide members with the desire and justification to once again *actively* participate in merging the future of the institution with the future of its host-society has yet to be formulated.

In terms of Clark's thesis on organizational saga (1970; 1972), members of the institution are now no longer actively committed to a "mission", for the "mission" itself has been thrown into doubt.

In the pioneering period a saga was constructed around the idea of an institution of "superior quality", but today members no longer know by what criteria to judge "superior quality". The relationship between UPNG and Australian standards is no longer appropriate, but a firm set of national standards has yet to evolve. Where the saga once helped members to maintain a degree of commitment to institutional goals and symbols, at present it sponsors conflict amongst members who would change the direction of the University and those who would maintain past goals and achievements. In addition, the saga has placed members in an ambivalent relationship with the exogenous environment. But it has been in terms of internal processes where the present inappropriateness of the past "mission" has had its greatest effect.

The overall weakening of the institution's saga is only one of many important variables which influenced internal institutional processes during the first period of consolidation. We will now turn to a full elaboration upon the changes which occurred in the University's endogenous environment.

NOTES

1. Because of Gunther's sensitivity to the PNG context, he would also have changed his style and method of bargaining with the government if he remained Vice-Chancellor.
2. Gabriel Gris was called "Doctor" because he had trained as a dentist.
3. Interview with Dr F. Oldfield, conducted during the 9th Waigani Seminar, June 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
4. Such attitudes were expressed in numerous interviews and private conversations with members of staff. Also, it was more common for long-standing members of staff to hold such attitudes.
5. Professor A. B. Weston, Memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor, 16 June 1972, File on the Organization of Higher Education, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

CHAPTER XI

CHANGE IN THE ENDOGENOUS ENVIRONMENT

INNOVATIONS IN ACADEMIC GOVERNMENT

Figure III is a simplified diagram of the present UPNG academic structure indicating the statutory bodies, their membership, and general objectives. It is a democratic structure with all members, excluding the Vice-Chancellor, elected to positions of authority. It would seem that such a structure would allow the highest degree of involvement of all members of the academic staff in decision-making processes, and that such a structure would allow for the consensus of opinion to be formulated and reinforced from the lowest tier to the apex of the structure. It would also seem from the diagram that the elected Academic Board would serve as a most powerful decision-making body; and since the majority of its members are elected representatives of the academic community, the Board would sponsor integration of the entire academic community. In practice, processes of academic government and decision-making at UPNG rarely conform to the ideals inherent in the structure.

The present structure of academic government at UPNG was the result of a successful campaign by academic staff to democratize the more hierarchical and exclusive structure which was first formulated in the University. During the period in which the institution was founded, those members of academic staff in the most senior positions held the greatest degree of power and influence in the organization. For one thing, the first positions filled in the new establishment were those at the top. The professor was initially appointed to found and develop his discipline within the University. During the pioneering period, the professors were the automatic heads of academic departments and ex officio members of the supreme academic decision-making body, the Professorial Board. The Professorial Board consisted of the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman, the professors of the University, three elected members of academic staff other than professors, the Dean of Students and the Librarian. The statutes were amended in 1973 to include a graduate of the University, elected by all graduates, as a member of the Board.

The early professors served a dual role in the organization generally, and on the Professorial Board specifically: one, they were the departmental (discipline) representative, and two, they were the academic leaders of the University. The professors had respect amongst themselves, and were respected internationally for the contributions they had made to their respective fields of

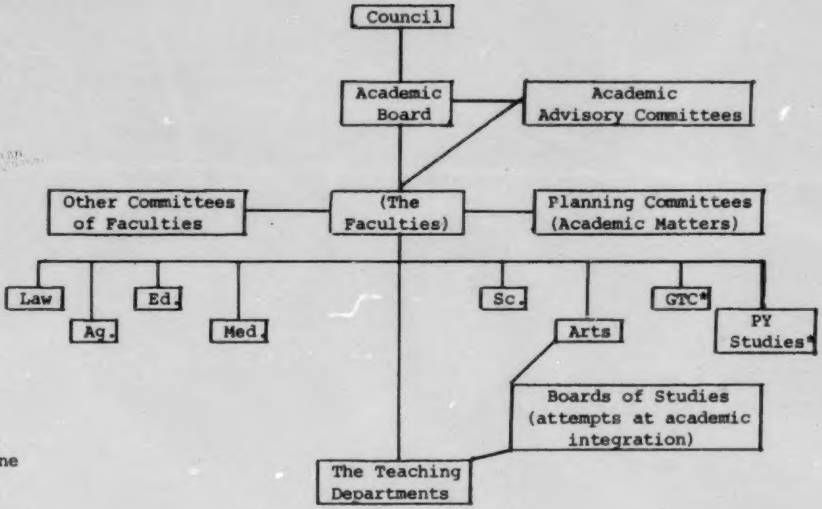
Figure III: UPNG Structure of Academic Government

Level, Membership and Function:

Final level of decision-making. Formally approves all policies. Consists of gov. appointments, V-C, academic, student & grad. reps.

Supreme academic policy body. V-C, chairman of Depts., Deans, Librarian, & elected grads., students & academics.

Recommends academic policy, administers degrees & diplomas. Consists of all teaching staff; elected chairman.


Council
Academic Board
Academic Advisory Committees
Other Committees of Faculties
(The Faculties)
Planning Committees (Academic Matters)
Law
Ag.
Ed.
Med.
Sc.
Arts
GTC*
PY Studies*
Boards of Studies (attempts at academic integration)
The Teaching Departments

Recommends curriculum, student progress, courses & other academic matters. Consists of all teaching staff in discipline area; elected Chairman.

* Though Preliminary Year Studies Committee and Goroka Teachers College are not truly faculties, they function as faculties in terms of academic government.

learning. The mere renown of the early professors, especially those in the Faculty of Arts, placed them in the role as "premiers" of their respective disciplines. Thus, when an issue concerning academic integration arose in the faculties or in the Professorial Board, Professor A would be reluctant to question Professor B about the methods of teaching, curriculum design, and intellectual orientation employed by his department. The power, influence, and respect held by the early professors helped to maintain faculty and department boundaries and served as a conservative force vis-a-vis attempts to integrate the academic structure.

However, with regard to issues which did not involve the immediate interest and prestige of individual departments, the professors served as a powerful decision-making group and as a cohesive force within the University. As previously noted, the Vice-Chancellor, before acting upon an issue of concern to the academic community, would seek a consensus of opinion amongst the professors who would in turn seek a consensus amongst themselves. This process expedited decision-making and operated both semi-formally, such as through a group of professors discussing an issue privately amongst themselves, and formally within the confines of the Professorial Board. The professors made the major academic decisions and the Professorial Board provided the decisions with an official sanction. In a strictly formal sense, all decisions reached by the Professorial Board, and later by the Academic Board, were subject to approval by the University Council. But the Council was, and is, more inclined to either support or merely note rather than question academic decisions made elsewhere in the structure. University Councils play a similar role in Australia.

As the institution grew and more junior staff members joined the establishment, the need arose to disseminate information and the decision-making process to more members of the academic community. Table V is a breakdown of the number of teaching staff on the main campus by level of appointment. Surprisingly, the percentage of staff members holding positions at senior lecturer level or above, remains fairly stable throughout the years. The number of professors relative to total staff appointments declines slightly, while the number of lecturers increases from twenty-nine per cent in 1968 to forty per cent in 1970 and then stabilizes. But as can be seen, the total number of staff belonging to the academic community increases with each year.

Gunther's style of administration and his dependence upon certain key professors for decisions on academic affairs, tended to alienate the growing number of non-professorial members of staff. The conflict came to a head in the latter part of 1971.

There was a change in the statutes that year to allow the Dean of Faculty to be elected six months in advance, rather than at the first faculty meeting of the year. In the latter part of 1971, the only nominations for the 1972 position of Dean of the Faculty of Arts were junior academics. The Registrar would not allow the elections to proceed because the new statutes had not been signed by the Administrator in Council. Some members of the Faculty, however, thought the Registrar was less concerned with the legality of the situation and more interested in attempting to block the nomination and acceptance of non-professorial staff to positions of power. As a result of this event, a paper was presented to the

Number of UPNG Teaching Staff (Main Campus Only) by Level of Appointment for Years 1968 to 1975

LEVEL	YEAR															
	1968		1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professors	11	13.4	11	12.0	11	11.1	12	11.0	12	9.8	14	10.1	16	10.2	15	9.0
Assoc. Prof./Reader	2	2.4	1	1.1	2	2.0	2	1.8	2	1.6	3	2.2	5	3.2	5	3.0
Senior Lecturer	19	23.2	21	22.8	18	18.2	23	21.1	37	30.3	35	25.4	38	24.2	42	25.1
Lecturer	24	29.3	33	35.9	40	40.4	44	40.4	38	31.2	56	40.6	64	40.8	67	40.1
Senior Tutor	4	4.9	5	5.4	13	13.1	14	12.8	24	19.7	17	12.3	19	12.1	25	15.0
Tutor	22	26.8	21	22.8	15	15.2	14	12.8	9	7.4	13	9.4	15	9.6	13	7.8
Total Staff:	82	100%	92	100%	99	100%	109	99.9%	122	100%	138	100%	157	100%	167	100%

Source:
UPNG Financial Submissions for Years 1970 to 1975

Faculty which outlined the grievances of the junior staff:(1)

> In the years following the establishment of the University it is understandable that a rather autocratic mode of government...should have been found to be the most expedient way of overcoming the many problems which required rapid action. However, we are beyond this stage now. The foundations have been laid and we are moving into an era of consolidation in which the government of the University, and the flow of information, must have a much wider base.

In response to the submission, the Faculty of Arts created the "participation and Communications Committee" to investigate the means by which the involvement of academic staff in the affairs of the University could be increased. The Committee also took on the problem of the structural integration of disciplines, viewing the isolation of academic government and the isolation of the disciplines as intimately linked.

The Committee eventually formulated two main proposals: one, the Professorial Board to be altered from largely an ex officio body to an elected body, and two, the faculty system in arts and science to be replaced by a system of four boards of study. While most members of the University were in favour of alterations to the Professorial Board — this proposal presented no challenge to departmental autonomy — the proposal for boards of study drew criticism and resistance from throughout the academic community. The Science Faculty rejected the proposal outright. Arguments in the Arts Faculty arose over what departments should be in what board. Mathematics proposed that it should be a separate board altogether. In other words, it became obvious to the members of the Committee that, if any progress was to be made in the alterations to academic government, the proposal concerning discipline integration would have to be dropped. In the latter part of 1972, the Committee sent the proposal for an elected Academic Board to replace the Professorial Board, to the faculties for comment. Discussion was discontinued on the other considerations.

The elected Academic Board was to be made up of the Vice-Chancellor, the dean of faculties, the heads of departments, and other elected members of staff, as well as students and graduates. The arrangement of the professor as ex officio head of department was to be changed. The head of department was to be elected from the members of the department and the role of professor redefined.

The change in the role of professor at UPNG did not merely involve the official status of the position, or the desire to liberalize official statutes. The History Department opted for an elected head before any official change in statute had occurred. With the date for independence rapidly approaching, academics attempted to establish a structure that would allow for accelerated promotion of indigenous academics and still provide the department with sound and experienced academic leadership.

The purpose of an elected head of department was to establish a tradition at UPNG where a mediocre professor could not impose mediocrity on an entire department. The first indigenous professors at UPNG, once they are appointed, will be the first Papua New Guineans to hold such positions. The system of an elected head allows for the indigenous professor who is also a capable and experienced administrator, to become the departmental leader. However, the system also allows for another person to be the head of department when the indigenous professor lacks experience as an academic leader. This was one of the intentions behind the change in academic government, but, as we will discuss in a moment, there were other unintended consequences.

The Mathematics Department was opposed to the change and wished that the structure present at the time be retained. The reservations of the Professor of Mathematics, as of some others, centred on the role of the professor as head of department. He argued that the professor was appointed for his administrative ability as well as for other criteria. Most departments had few senior lecturers and the lecturers had limited academic experience. He thought leadership in a department would be seriously impaired if the professor was replaced by an elected head.(2)

Some other members of staff expressed reservations as to whether tutors would have the same voting privileges as professors within the department (they would). Other arguments over the technicalities of the restructuring of academic government arose. However, most members of the University were in favour of the proposed change, and in mid-1973 the Professorial Board agreed to recommend to Council that there be an elected Academic Board with an elected head of department called a chairman. It was also recommended that the policies of a department be established by a system of regular departmental meetings.

In future the professor was to be chosen for distinction in scholarship and teaching, and not necessarily for administrative ability. As pointed out by the Professor of Mathematics, the present professors, under contract, had the right to retain their positions as chairmen if they so wished. It was also decided that in the creation of new departments, it would be desirable to have the professor as chairman in the establishment period.

In July 1973 the University Council approved in principle the recommendation of the Professorial Board. The Council was concerned about the administrative implications of the proposed change in structure, and requested that a sub-committee of Council prepare a paper outlining these implications.

In 1973 the whole question of reorganization of academic government was given a boost by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor who was appointed that year. He had had extensive experience with the new universities in Great Britain and he was interested in the alternative structures such institutions could explore. The proposal as it came to Council, was designed to alter the structure at the top. Little was said about middle-level reorganization or the function of faculties. The Deputy Vice-Chancellor hoped more could be done in relation to a total re-thinking of the University's academic mould.

The paper representing the views of the sub-committee appointed by Council, of which the Deputy Vice-Chancellor was a member, outlined further implications of academic reorganization. It was recognized that "the departmental form of organization influences the dimensions of teaching and thinking in the University". The questions still under discussion were: "How to affiliate people with like intellectual interests, and what should the relationship be between the departments?"(3) The search for means of crossing departmental boundaries continued, and thinking once again was directed along the lines of creating a structure which would embody an inter-disciplinary approach.

The above paper was presented to Council with the recommendation that the proposals of the Professorial Board be accepted, and that the newly created Academic Board concern itself with further alteration to the academic structure. The Council approved, and it was believed that a major reorganization was possible, therefore extensive rewriting of the University ordinances and statutes was not undertaken at that time.

In 1974, for several reasons, the possibility of an overall inter-disciplinary reorganization of the University faded. The inherent inertia of the departmental system remained as a conservative force against innovation. The Deputy Vice-Chancellor had departed the University and his energy and interest were no longer available for such deliberations. Also, the Gris Report was being written and overall discussions upon alternative structures were to "hang fire" until the Report was published.

With the reorganization of academic government, the opinion was circulated among some members of staff that UPNG was now the most democratic university in the southern hemisphere. The reply by more sombre members of the community was, "so what!" At the time of self-government and independence for its host-society, UPNG, contrary to evidence from some other universities in similar situations (see Leys, 1971), was becoming more liberal in terms of organization and structure. However, as with other proposals containing a component of academic integration, the reorganization of academic government fell short of its intended mark. Though the Professorial Board was changed from an ex officio body to an essentially elected one and the professor ceased to be the automatic head of department, an overall fundamental change in the organization did not occur. The faculty/departmental structure remained as strong as ever.

The proposal for an elected Academic Board and head of department did not meet a great deal of resistance, even at the departmental level. The faculties endorsed the proposal with general enthusiasm and the reorganization, in its final form, presented little real challenge to the departmental structure. One remarkable characteristic of UPNG is the lack of entrenched academics attempting to establish personal domains. The academic community is, so far, made up of transient foreigners. The professors did not act as a solidarity group to oppose the change in government. In fact, the debate which surrounds issues in general at UPNG is rarely structured upon lines of individual status. Few professors had anything to lose by the change of academic government, except for some time-consuming administrative duties. Status is not, in general, an issue within the UPNG community.

However, in moving towards an integrated and innovatory form of teaching, UPNG has yet to mount the departmental hurdle. The department is the basic unit of power within the organization. (In this sense, single department faculties function as departments.) The departments function as powerful forces for the preservation of the status quo within the institution. In part, this is due to the basic bureaucratic inertia built up within the system. It is always easier to retain the orthodox than to opt for innovation. But more fundamentally, the basic interests of the academics rest with the various disciplines which the departments represent. The discipline or profession defines the academic's role and status within the institution. The academic gives his first allegiance to the discipline and its body of knowledge. Status, as associated with one's position within the organization, has less meaning than professional membership. Also, some departments within the organization have more status and power than others. Departments compete with each other over finance, student numbers, and staffing levels. The latter two of these factors are intimately related. Staffing levels are based upon the ratio of effective full-time student enrolments. Thus, the department which attracts the most students is the richest department within the faculty, and the faculty with the most students is the richest in the University. The quality of staff attracted to certain disciplines also affects the department's standing within the organization. The department, and the discipline it represents, whether weak or strong, provides the basic social and political unit within the UPNG community.

Though it was an unintended consequence, the change in academic government strengthened the faculty/departmental structure, and buttressed the position of the academic department as the main locus of power in the organization. Members of the Academic Board retain one of the roles previously allocated to the professors, that is, the role of departmental representative; members no longer retain the other function, the *modus operandi* of academic leadership. Where previously a few powerful professors had individual autonomy and influence in the decision-making process, today committee members, on the Board and elsewhere, act almost solely as departmental representatives with their power emanating from the department and the faculty, not from their own individual status and ability to provide a creative input. Although decision-making has been disseminated to a much wider community than was the case previously, the process itself has been significantly weakened. The Board does not serve as a strong force for integration of the academic community above the faculty level — factional interest within the Board blocks such integration. In order to fill the vacuum that has been created at the top, the structure sponsors an ever-increasing proliferation of autonomous committees to replace the autonomy of the individual. However, with regard to the decisions made by such committees, members have neither the individual power nor the inclination to transcend the interests of their respective faculties and departments.

Eisenstadt (1965:55) places emphasis upon an elite core of individuals to provide institutions with meaning and vitality. According to Eisenstadt:

> The crucial problem is the presence or absence, in one or several institutional spheres, of an active group of special 'entrepreneurs', an elite, able to offer solutions to the new range of problems... Weber came closest to recognizing this problem when he stressed that the creation of new institutional structures depends heavily on the 'push' given by various 'charismatic' groups or personalities, and that the routinization of charisma is critical for the crystallization and continuation of new institutional structures.

By 1975 the majority of the University's powerful foundation professors had departed. The problem presently faced by the institution is two-fold: one, there is no longer an "active group of special entrepreneurs" available to the institution; and two, the present structure disallows the development of such a group.

The change in UPNG's structure has several interesting theoretical implications. We will briefly mention them here and take up the subject in more detail in the Conclusion to the text.

Members were motivated to make changes in the institution's structure for three basic reasons: (1) to increase the participation of junior staff in the decision-making process; (2) to further the integration of academic disciplines and to break down the "compartmentalization" of knowledge (though University-wide change in this area did not occur); and (3) to provide a system of academic government best suited to a university in a newly independent nation. The desire for change was, in part, a result of conflicts and contradictions within the system; that is, the structure itself served as a force for change. There was resistance to a hierarchical structure of academic government and members hoped to liberalize it. The faculty/departmental system of academic organization kept apart those who desired an integration of disciplines. Members also opted for change, not only because of present conflicts, but because of the conflicts and contradictions they felt might occur in the future, as more indigenous members of academic staff were appointed.

Members saw the need for new structural arrangements and consciously created them. It seems that change was sponsored by all the "right reasons". However, in contrast to what the "structure-function" model of sociological analysis would hypothesize, the new pattern of interrelationships was not adaptive to members' needs. Members' reaction to change was intended to be adjustive, but this was not the result. The structural change did not fulfill "functional requisites". And this was structural change brought about by people quite aware of what they were doing. The structure is a force for conflict and change; but a change in structure is not, necessarily, adaptive.

On the other hand, Dahrendorf (1959:135-40) in constructing a "conflict theory" of social analysis, emphasizes that unequal distribution of authority is the crucial force for institutional conflict and change. The fact that one of the motivations for change at UPNG was resistance to a hierarchical structure of academic government fits in with Dahrendorf's "class conflict" model. However, the other motivations for change fall outside this model. The interesting empirical observation made at UPNG is that conflict and malintegration of interrelationships was furthered by an *equalisation* of authority.

It would be naive to search for one unitary set of causes to the conflicts and contraductions within the UPNG social system. But there is one set of variables — members' past experiences and patterns of socialization — that is often overlooked or misconstrued in sociological analysis.

There is, of course, a large body of literature on the importance of social actors' "past patterns of socialization", "internalization of value systems", "learning patterns of desirable behaviour", and so on. But the majority of the literature stresses the stabilising, predictive, and integrative qualities of such processes; that is, because actors share certain values and have experienced a similar pattern of socialization, their behaviour is consensual, integrative, and predictable. But the empirical evidence collected at UPNG seems to suggest that past experience, training, and socialization in a profession — all academics at UPNG have had numerous years of training and experience within universities — placed members in conflict with each other and created an impasse to members' attempts at structural integration. Both in creating and changing the academic structure at UPNG, members have not been able to transcend their own background of narrow specialization in their respective professions.

Sociological analysis usually deals with actors' past experience and socialization in terms of "broad" or "universal" processes. The researcher seeks to discover "cultural" values and norms, and then to predict behaviour accordingly. The experience at UPNG suggests that a more careful, detailed, "micro-study" of an individual actor's past experiences may be necessary to adequately understand social behaviour. Also, members' past socialization needs to be looked at as a force for conflict. This may be an important point for those interested in new and innovative structures of academic organization. It may not be enough to merely create a new structure, for values, norms, and past experience may separate people as much as the pattern of their relationships. The educational innovator may have to carefully select "converts" who can live with the unorthodox arrangements.

The problems of UPNG lie not only with structural arrangements and lack of charismatic leaders. The present ineffectiveness in decision-making at the University is a result of several factors, such as the basic interest of groups rotating around the academic discipline, and the isolation of expatriate academic staff from the country's affairs. Moreover, internal indecision and the lack of strong leadership, may serve to support the status quo and conservatism in the institution by *not* directing the University towards certain goals.

The present structure of academic government at UPNG has proved inadequate for redirecting the goals and aims of the institution to the needs of PNG society. The University's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor hoped to sponsor change within the University but found the structural constraints imposed upon his actions severe. However, this discussion deserves a section of its own and will be taken up in more detail in Chapter XIV.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BRANCH AND COUNCIL

During the pioneering period the necessities of institution-building, the environment, and the personality of Gunther dictated that the University's administration would be dominated by the Vice-Chancellor. Gunther also provided the primary point of contact between the institution's bureaucracy and the exogenous environment. Nevertheless, it takes a large number of supportive staff below the level of Vice-Chancellor to effect the smooth running of any university.

In the early years of development the one man on whom Gunther depended most was the Bursar, for he was the man with the figures. As discussed in Part III, the pioneering period saw many bitter and protracted conflicts between the University and government over levels of funding. This provided the Bursar with a key role in the institution for supplying the data upon which the financial submission was compiled, rationalized, and justified.

With the retirement of Gunther in 1972 there was a reorganization of the administration. First, there was the introduction of the position of Deputy (later to become "pro") Vice-Chancellor. However, this position has yet to become firmly entrenched in the structure. Professor Oldfield, the first appointee to this position, served the University for only one year. Gris, the University's second Deputy Vice-Chancellor, was forced to devote the majority of his time to the Chairmanship of the Committee of Enquiry into University Development. With the appointment of Gris as Vice-Chancellor, it was proposed that he be assisted by two pro-Vice-Chancellors. But, for reasons to be discussed in Chapter XIV, the positions were not filled until 1976.

The position of Deputy (pro) Vice-Chancellor has always had a political stigma attached to it. Gunther first proposed the creation of the position for Inglis. But in so doing he transgressed one of the institution's cherished norms: he attempted to "railroad" the position and the appointee through Council, without prior endorsement from the Professorial Board, and without first advertising the position. There was much protest, and only after the proposal had gone through the proper academic channels was the position created, and Gunther's candidate appointed. However, there is still resentment today for Gunther's actions with regard to this matter, which demonstrates the importance of protocol and the ultimately normative behaviour of members of such institutions as universities.

In 1972 the positions of Registrar and Bursar were discontinued and the positions of Academic Registrar and Secretary were created. The former Assistant Registrar during the pioneering period was the principal candidate for the position of Registrar. However, the person concerned was more attuned to the academic side of administration as opposed to purely bureaucratic functions. Thus, the position of Academic Registrar was created to handle academic and student matters, while the position of Secretary was designed as the central position in the University's bureaucracy.

What is interesting about UPNG is the dependence of the institution's structure upon the personalities of its members. Structures are not created for the sole purpose of fulfilling mechanistic bureaucratic needs, they also fulfill the needs of the individuals who participate in them. All too often, organizational analysis concentrates on the adjustment of the individual personality to the bureaucratic role, while ignoring the other possibility that the bureaucratic structure is shaped by individual particularism. Of course, Weber (1964; 1968; and elsewhere) and other authors, have laid emphasis upon the importance of the charismatic leaders to an institution. But below the level of "leader" and for persons other than charismatic, individual personalities and idiosyncrasies play an important role in determining the institution's structure and character. The following description of how the position of Planning Officer was created at UPNG serves as a relevant example.

The Academic Registrar was responsible to the Secretary and there was some animosity between the two individuals. The Secretary, appointed in 1972, was a man who believed in hierarchical university administration, while the Academic Registrar held an opposing viewpoint. The Academic Registrar was, by nature, a creative and active man who desired a position in which he could actively participate with academic staff in planning their programmes. The Academic Registrar asked the Vice-Chancellor to create the position of Planning Officer, and for the position to be responsible to the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor, who had seen the trend for such positions at African universities, established the position with the former Academic Registrar as the first appointee.

Both the administrative and the academic branch of the University are ultimately responsible, through the Vice-Chancellor, to the University's Council. The permanent Council was established in December 1968. It had strong representation from the Australian academic community, as did the former Interim Council. The Council was reorganized in 1973. The Australian academics were phased out and the percentage of Papua New Guineans on the Council has steadily increased. In 1975 the first Papua New Guinean Chancellor (Chairman of Council) was appointed.

Similar to the situation in Australia, the Council seldom takes an active role in internal University affairs. During the pioneering period, members of Council often supported the University over conflicts of interest with the Administration and the Department of Territories. The Australian academics on the Interim Council and on the first Council provided the University with valuable and influential allies. But the Council has never had any real influence over the day-to-day operations of the University. In terms of academic matters, the Academic Board makes the major policy decisions, while Council notes such decisions, thus providing the final sanction.

The Council takes slightly more interest in matters arising from the administrative branch of the University, especially financial matters and capital works programmes. However, even here the subcommittee of Council, the Finance and Building Committee, decides the major issues and policies. In making decisions the Council is dependent upon the recommendations and advice which arise out of University committees and from the Vice-Chancellor. At meetings Council members are faced with a massive agenda and the fate of the majority of the items on the agenda is a foregone conclusion. The Papua New Guinean members of the Council have very heavy workloads themselves, and neither have they the time nor the opportunity to initiate policy discussions within the University.

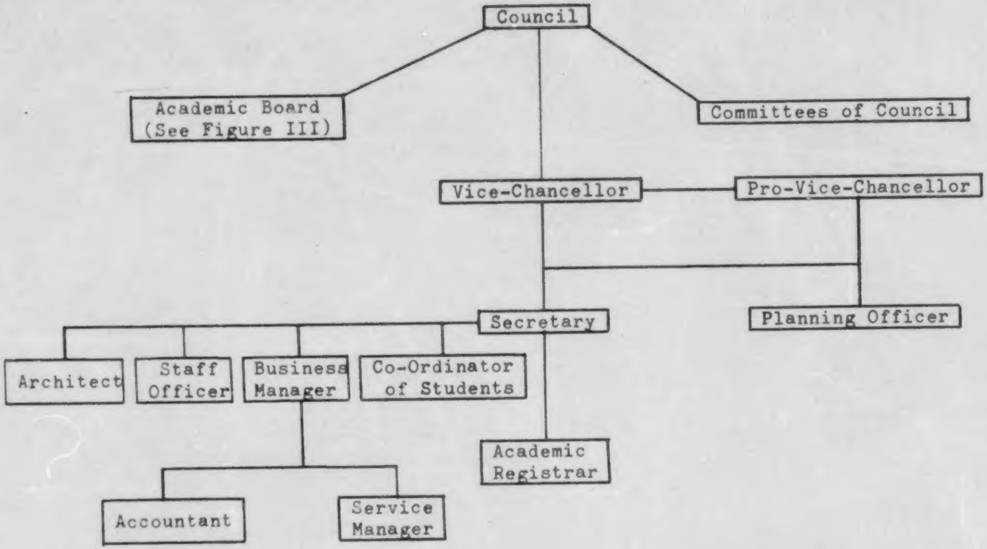
The Chancellor is the ceremonial head of the University and the Chairman of the Council. To date, the University has had four Chancellors. Professor Karmel as Chairman of the Interim Council and first Chancellor, provided the University with valuable help and advice on internal developments. In 1975 arrangements were made for UPNG and the University of Technology to share the same Chancellor. Mr A. Tololo, Director of the (National) Department of Education, was appointed Chancellor of both institutions.(4)

As can be seen from Figure IV which sets out the formal UPNG administrative structure, the Vice-Chancellor, Secretary, Academic Registrar, and Planning Officer all hold key positions within the University's bureaucracy. Both the Secretary and the Academic Registrar are more immersed in the bureaucratic structure than is the Planning Officer. As already mentioned, the formal structure reflects, to some extent, the personalities of the individuals involved. The Secretary is placed in a central position in the structure and he has a great deal of authority and influence over services. He is also in a central position to receive and dispense information. His day-to-day role in the University, as the diagram might suggest, is one of "quiet control".

The position of Planning Officer was designed, in part, to introduce a creative overview to University development schemes. In performing his duties, the Planning Officer liaised with many academic committees, often on a semi-formal level. This provided him with a variety of opportunities to promote and solicit support for the schemes he was interested in. He was also responsible for writing the financial submission. Though the decisions upon what went into the financial submission were made elsewhere in the University, the Planning Officer had some degree of latitude in providing the justifications for such decisions.

As with most institutions, a diagram of the organizational structure reflects little of the reality of the situation. The diagram identifies the titles of the different positions and their official connections with one another. But it says little about how actors perform their roles, or the relationship between the staff member and the service offered. Moreover, it says nothing of the informal or extra-formal roles performed by actors. For example, the Academic Registrar had no formal power in terms of academic decision-making, neither did the Planning Officer. But the Registrar, through his role as secretary to key academic committees and his access to information, influenced the decisions made on many occasions. Such influence would be in the form of the Academic Registrar reminding committee members of past decisions, pointing out the possible consequences of certain decisions, and informing members of the restrictions official statutes placed upon their deliberations. The Planning Officer also exercised similar influence on the decision-making process. Though not a voting member of the academic committees he attended, the Planning Officer often entered into the debate of a committee and influenced its outcome. For example, the Planning Officer played a key role in getting the Faculty of Arts to accept a Foundation Year, a topic we will turn to in a moment.

Figure IV: UPNG Administrative Structure


Council
Academic Board (See Figure III)
Committees of Council
Vice-Chancellor
Pro-Vice-Chancellor
Secretary
Planning Officer
Architect
Staff Officer
Business Manager
Co-Ordinator of Students
Academic Registrar
Accountant
Service Manager

It should be emphasized that university administration at UPNG has developed a certain "style". Though the administrative branch, on occasion, has been viewed as an "enemy" by certain academic factions, on the whole, the relationship between the two groups has been depicted by a high degree of cordiality.

The close relations between the administrative and academic branches of the University are, once again, partially due to members' past experiences. Both the Planning Officer and Professor Inglis had, previous to their appointments at UPNG, worked for the Australian National University, an institution in which a tradition of administration for the material educational benefit of academic staff and students had been firmly established. Professor Inglis (1974:4-5) contrasts his experiences with different "types" of university administration in the following introductory comments to a workshop on effective university administration:

> I recall vividly my arriving at an Australian university as a young member of staff and being taken by my professor to meet the Registrar. (New members of staff were so rare in those days that each one of them was taken to meet the Vice-Chancellor and Registrar on his first day).
>
> "Dr Inglis", said the Registrar, "I hope Professor X hasn't given you the impression that administrators are the deadly enemies of academics".
>
> "Far from it", said Professor X with a smile, "I've made clear to him that administrators are the most *lively* enemies of academics".
>
> And so they were, in some ways, in that and some other Australian universities. Not until I was into my thirties did I work in an institution whose administrative style affirmed that a university was a place for students to learn in, academic staff to teach in and research in, and that the job of administrators was to help them to perform these tasks. By and large, I think our administrative style here [at UPNG] expresses that view...

The close relations between academics and administrators at UPNG is also due to a variety of other factors. Though the professional orientations between the two groups may differ, until recently members of both groups have been from the same clan — expatriates, and many have been of the same nationality — Australian. For expatriate staff members, UPNG is a very close-knit society. The contract system for expatriates has prevented academics or administrators from building personal empires. Though there are individuals within the system who wield significant power, over the long term such individuals are transient, not tenured members of the institution. This has also meant that the positions within the formal structure from which power arises, change with time. As localization continues, power may become more of an entrenched phenomenon. Nevertheless, the administrative branch at UPNG has built a firm tradition of co-operation with, and service to, the academic and student communities.

INNOVATIONS IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS

UPNG, in adjusting to its environment, has attempted to move towards academic integration. The strict segregation of disciplines into departments and members' commitment to the discipline, have placed severe restraints on attempts at adaptation. We have seen so far in the text, grand plans for academic integration proposed, but results which do little to disturb the "compartmentalization" of the discipline. Thus, the most relevant question becomes: why does the tendency for UPNG to move towards academic integration remain? The most significant reason is the obvious failure of departmental segregation and early specialization to meet the needs of indigenous students. In attempting to arrive at a structure more attuned to the Papua New Guinean student, members of the academic community have shown real concern for their students' educational needs.

Other factors also intercede in the process. The contract system, with its high turnover of staff, has meant new members with new ideas are constantly joining the community. Many of the young Australian tutors who joined the academic community in the early 1970s had *not* experienced the narrow specialization that typified the training of older members of staff. These people found it quite easy to work across disciplines, and they served as a significant force for structural integration.

Many of the new universities throughout the world are involved in the search for innovatory academic arrangements. In this sense, the discussions upon alternative academic methods and structure at UPNG are a reflection of discussions carried out in Australia and elsewhere. Also, some departments are more likely than others to benefit from an integrated structure of academic organization, and in addition to these factors, it needs to be recognized that universities are basically conservative institutions. Change takes time and universities judge the fruits of change according to their universal acceptance. It is in the interests of academics to be relevant to the University's cultural backdrop, but in so doing, it is not in their interest to cut themselves off from the international collegium of universities. For it is in this collegium, and not at UPNG, where their future mobility lies.

Although the idea of a university-wide Foundation Year was killed in 1970, discussion on course integration continued within the Faculty of Arts. In general, the discussion centred on inter-disciplinary studies and alterations to the course structure which would achieve such an approach. Some members of the Faculty thought that if the University was to have an inter-disciplinary approach in terms of course offerings, then all planning would have to be in this direction. It was noted that: "inter-disciplinary studies without alterations to a Departmental and Faculty system were bound to fail".(5)

The majority view was, however, that the Faculty could work towards inter-disciplinary approaches through the modification of course offerings within the individual departments. This approach was the least challenging to the departmental structure. Each department could conduct its own discussion on integration, course relevancy, and other innovations, and still maintain the discipline boundaries.

As was often the case, the more radical idea of change to the University's basic structure was referred elsewhere, in this instance to the Professorial Board, with the recommendation that a committee be established to consider alterations to the faculty system. The Board accepted the recommendation and established such a committee, stating that it was a matter for early and urgent consideration. However, the Committee was unable to provide any firm direction in restructuring the University. The Committee met only a few times and soon faded away.

Between 1971 and 1975 the Arts Faculty, in their deliberations upon further alterations to the BA degree, established a multitude of committees. Whenever a new proposal is put forward, a committee is appointed to investigate its implications. On paper this sounds like rational planning and reasonable democratic participation. In actuality, the flourish of committees at UPNG has presented a major stumbling block for future planning and for the formulation of new directions. They are subject to factional interests; those who join a committee have some sort of interest in the schemes being discussed. Committees take time and produce a huge amount of paper. Because there are so many committees at UPNG, discussions often become circular — an issue not directly related to one committee is referred to another, which may refer it yet again, until the issue arrives back at the committee from which it originated — and unintelligible to the community as a whole. The committee system often appears to be doing a great deal, whereas in actuality, very little is accomplished.

Nevertheless, besides producing committees, the Arts Faculty did progress in formulating an approach to integrated teaching. A system of foundation courses, designed to introduce the student to the various arts disciplines was introduced. In terms of integration, the most significant innovation formulated by the Faculty was the establishment in 1974 of Boards of Studies, and the acceptance in principle of an Arts Foundation Year. Four Boards were established: Mathematics, Social Sciences, Administrative Studies, and Humanities. The responsibility of each Board was to plan programmes appropriate to the students of the Board's area of responsibility, and to promote inter-disciplinary approaches. However, if political events from outside the University had not interceded, the Boards of Studies would have remained ineffectual.

In August 1974, the question of an Arts Foundation Year was again raised, and the "Board of Foundation Year Studies" was created to investigate the ways in which a common course of study for first-year students could be implemented. The Committee held discussions in the remaining months of 1974 and the early part of 1975. It was proposed that the common course take the form of a number of case studies. "Students would achieve a broad and unified approach to relevant social, political and intellectual issues".(6) The case study was to be presented as a problem to be solved, and the emphasis of each would be upon "the analysis of the problem, the collection of information relevant to the understanding of the problem, and the use of methods of approach to solutions of the problem drawn from several different disciplines".(7)

The approach was not acceptable to all members of the Faculty. Some had doubts as to the value of a problem-oriented case study approach, and thought that it had created administrative problems where it had been employed. Other members of the Faculty questioned the contribution their departments could make to such a scheme. It seemed much more work needed to be put into the Committee's plan before it could be adequately defined and acceptable to the Faculty.

While the proposal for the introduction of an Arts Foundation Year was still under discussion, another set of events in early 1975 intervened to change both the Foundation Year scheme and ensure its acceptance. The government suggested that University enrolments be related to manpower needs through the allocation of scholarships on quota basis for 1976. The Foundation Year Committee, through some assistance from the University's Planning Officer, realized that:

> If a Foundation Year was not implemented in 1976, there [would] be strong pressures for the quota-ing of scholarships at the point of entry to undergraduate studies. Should this happen, a scholarship quota policy could have grave disadvantages since it would encourage or require early 'professional' vocational specialisation despite all the University's attempts to preserve the first year as a wide non-vocational learning experience, after which more rational course and career choices can be made.(8)

This led the Committee to reconsider a proposal it had previously rejected: "Each of the 4 Boards of Studies in Arts would be asked to design a year-long course, and students would choose 3 courses from the 4 courses offered". The Committee was of the opinion that the case study approach was pedagogically the most desirable approach, but the Committee recognized it might be impossible to implement such a programme by 1976, and it was essential for some form of a common first-year programme to be introduced before the streaming of students took place.

The streaming of students implied a redistribution of students between faculties and departments. The redistribution would not favour the Arts Faculty as a whole, nor certain departments within the Faculty. The government was placing emphasis upon vocational training, which led certain disciplines such as history, psychology, and philosophy, and others whose subject matter was not directly vocational, to question their future. The Faculty recognized that it was better to share all students in the Faculty amongst the disciplines rather than lose some students and possibly certain disciplines entirely.

The case was put to the Faculty at a special meeting held on 2 April 1975. The discussion was unlike most debates observed at Faculty meetings during the field study. There was some input structured around departmental biases. Those members of staff most attuned to academic politics did attempt some manipulation of the proceedings. However, the issue had been decided beforehand. The "wolves were at the door", and though the "wolves" may have been more imaginary than real, faculty members recognized the need to protect themselves. The Faculty accepted the proposal, and a Foundation Year planned along the lines of four Boards of Studies was to be implemented in 1976. A board of Foundation Year Studies was created, with the Dean of Arts as chairman, to co-ordinate the work of the four other Boards.

At last, a segment of the UPNG community had advanced a significant step forward in the formulation of an inter-disciplinary approach. If it were not for the intervention of events from outside the institution, it is extremely unlikely that the task of implementing a Foundation Year would have been undertaken at this point in time. The decision to innovate was political, not pedagogical. The Foundation Year Committee had yet to formulate a scheme totally acceptable to all of its members, let alone acceptable to the entire Faculty.

Though the decision of the Faculty of Arts to implement a Foundation Year was political, the actions of the Faculty's members were normative. In order to maintain the universalistic norm of university autonomy, the Faculty was forced to innovate. Members of the community who would not have otherwise done so, united for the purpose of protecting the autonomy of the institution and their position within it. The universal norm of the "golden egg" decided the issue, not the validity of pedagogical arguments. Discipline bias, group interest, and pedagogical cleavage were all foregone in order to protect the institution, and thus, the interests of its members.

Members of the Faculty resented the manner in which their decision had to be made, which is a good example of how norms themselves can be in conflict. Another universalistic norm which the institution's members ascribe to is democratic decision-making based on sound, rational, and intellectually desirable criteria. This norm was not only superseded by the norm of university autonomy, but members of the Faculty allowed political factors to replace pedagogic criteria. The Planning Officer had done some backstage politicking himself, impressing upon certain key members of the Faculty the urgency of the situation, and some resented this action. He represented one more element of intrusion upon the decision-making process. At the faculty meeting, many members such as the Chairman of the Foundation Year Committee, voted for an acceptance of the proposal, but did so reluctantly. The institution was in conflict with its outside environment, but it was also in conflict with itself.

The implementation of an Arts Foundation Year was a major policy decision for the University. One factor involved in members' decision to implement the scheme was their "fear" of outside forces. But the Planning Officer played a significant role in bringing members' attention to the "danger" of outside interference; demonstrating the importance of the individual in institutional life. If the Planning Officer had not taken an active interest in the scheme and mobilized political support for it, it is doubtful if a Foundation Year based on four Boards of Studies would have been implemented. Also, the Planning Officer was able to convince the Chairman of the Foundation Year Committee that the situation required urgent action. If the Chairman had not backed a scheme he believed to be less desirable than the "case study" approach, it is doubtful that the decision to base Foundation Year on Boards of Studies would have been made.

The solidarity of the group did not last for long. Some members of the Faculty began to doubt the validity of the scheme they had been saddled with. As the scheme was being designed, discipline bias crept back into the system. Those who were involved in implementing the Foundation Year were, supposedly, to have independent input, and not to act as departmental representatives. However, this was quite difficult to achieve. Members of the Economics Department involved with planning the Foundation Year, retained a strong discipline bias in their input, and at one stage threatened to withdraw from the scheme altogether. Before course proposals were accepted by the Boards of Studies responsible for Foundation Year, they were often subject to prior consideration and approval by individual departments. Though a programme was eventually constructed for implementation in 1976, the study indicates that a formal policy-decision does not necessarily resolve all conflict. Rather, in its execution new strains are generated which usually lead to the modification of the formal policy itself (Baldridge, 1971a:19-26).

INNOVATIONS IN THE CURRICULUM AND CONFLICTS OVER BASIC INSTITUTIONAL GOALS

From about 1970 onwards the University commenced to restructure course offerings and content in terms of "local relevance". It would be difficult to say exactly when local relevance first commenced to replace an Australian continuity in terms of course aims and goals, or to contribute the process to any one factor. The seeds of conflict between "local relevance" and "overseas standards" were planted during the University's very foundation. The attempts to establish an academic structure based upon integration of the disciplines is part and parcel of the process whereby the University has sought to be relevant to local requirements. But in the beginning, few members doubted that an Australian model should serve as the primary reference point for the institution.

One significant factor in the drift of the curriculum from a foreign model to local relevance, has been the appointment of non-Australian academics, especially those with an experience of higher education in Africa and other developing countries.

The expatriates amongst the University's administrative staff have been mostly of Australian and New Zealand nationality, while the teaching staff has always had somewhat of a broad international character. In 1968, over sixty per cent of the academic staff was Australian, and while the remaining members were primarily of British and New Zealand nationality, individuals from Tonga, Nigeria, and India were present. By 1973 the number of Australians on the academic staff had fallen to below fifty per cent. In 1975, in terms of nationality, the teaching staff was: thirty-four per cent Australians, twenty-seven per cent British, eleven per cent American, fifteen per cent non-European and three per cent Papua New Guinean. While Australian members of the academic community are still the largest single group, their numbers relative to members of staff of other nationalities have declined significantly in recent years. Selection committees use experience with higher education in other developing countries as one of the criteria by which to judge the acceptability of candidates. This criteria and the lower wages at UPNG since 1973, relative to those at Australian universities, are partial factors in the decline of Australian teaching staff.

For many non-Australian academics the nexus between UPNG and Australian universities has little meaning. In addition, many members of staff (though not all, as will be discussed in a moment), who have taught in other developing countries or are themselves nationals of such countries, have attempted to change the aims of the curriculum so as to better meet the needs of the PNG society. The change in both the subject matter and the structure of the degree which occurred in the Faculty of Law serves as a relevant example.

The Foundation Professor of Law, who previous to his appointment at PNG was a prominent figure in legal education in Australia, believed, as did most members of the legal profession in PNG at that time, that legal education in PNG should be closely tied with an Australian model. The legal graduate was to find his future in the city and town, rather than in the rural setting. The Foundation Professor saw (Nash, 1969: 221) legal education as resting upon certain assumptions:(9)

> [The lawyer] does not belong in village society. His practice and his usefulness are necessarily in the towns and larger communities.

And more explicitly (p. 226):

> In many cases [the student's] home is in a village community and it will be the purpose of the law course in one respect to divorce him from that community. It is not an aim of education to isolate people, but when the differences between the educated and uneducated are so great as they are in New Guinea, it is an inevitable effect of education...to isolate the educated member from the rest of his community.

Legal training was a five-year programme with students spending a portion of their studies in an Australian solicitor's office.

A major re-thinking of legal education at UPNG took place with the appointment of Professor Weston in 1970, who had much experience with legal education in East Africa, and Professor James, a West Indian by nationality, appointed in 1972. The Foundation Professor had left the University and Weston was the Dean of the Faculty from 1970 to 1973, and James became Dean in 1974.

With the new appointments, and because of fundamental changes taking place in the PNG legal profession, course content in the Law Faculty was changed, as were many of the values and assumptions upon which it previously rested. The length of the degree was shortened, and students would no longer spend a term in Australia. The entry for Law in the 1975 University *Handbook of Courses* (p. 241) underlines the basic change of direction in legal education:

> Many of our graduates will not be professional lawyers. And the great majority of those who will be professional lawyers will go into government service and not into private practice...
>
> We no longer consider that the function of the LL.B. course is to turn out a lawyer narrowly trained only for practice in the Western model.

The Law Faculty no longer hopes to provide graduates to a private bar which some thought would develop great strength in PNG (see Lalor, 1965:83-95). Rather, the legal graduate is seen as working at the grass roots level and providing one of the catalysts for rural development (James, 1975:29).

Rural development has become the catch-phrase around which the majority [illegible] discussions on course relevance centres. This in part, reflects the ideological discussions taking place in the nation as a whole: the "Eight-Point Plan" places primary emphasis upon rural development. The Waigani Seminar of 1971 (Ward, 1972) was on rural development and the Seminar held in 1972 (May, 1972) was entitled "Priorities in Melanesian Development". The principal speakers of the 1972 Seminar were René Dumont, Ivan Illich, and Lloyd Best, all of whom spoke against the relevance of western models to "developing" countries, and emphasized the plight of the poor rural sectors of new societies.

One response by students to the lectures of Dumont and Illich was an attempt to establish a farm at UPNG to replace expensive imported food. However, the initial enthusiasm soon waned, few academics supported the scheme and some academics actively opposed it on the grounds that work on such a farm would infringe upon individual rights of students and their study time. For a discussion of rural development and student politics see Ballard (1977). Ballard (p.116) sees the 1972 Waigani Seminar as the "catalyst" for students' "political" interest in rural development.

In terms of an official endorsement, the "Working Party on the Future of the University" stressed the need for the institution to be more responsive and committed to the majority of the country's people who live in the villages. The Gris Report went much further in establishing such commitment with some firm proposals: extension programmes, a form of national service for students, and a host of proposals to lessen students' divorcement from village life.

However, unofficially there is debate and division in the University over how "relevant" the curriculum should be. A few members of the community hold the belief that an academic in his teaching and research interests should be allowed to be as irrelevant as he wishes, "for what is irrelevant today may be most relevant tomorrow". On a less esoteric but possibly more philosophical plane, the former Deputy Vice-Chancellor elaborated upon the dilemma faced by the expatriate teacher. In response to an interview on what role should the expatriate academic play in relation to indigenous students, Professor Oldfield stated that: (10)

> It is a 'catch 22', at least for me personally. The thing you want to instill in students is a *rational, altruistic autonomy*. But how do you judge when the

> student has achieved this; has he achieved this when he becomes like you, when you have produced a mirror image that will go on producing a mirror image? It is a personal 'catch 22'.

But it is doubtful that all members of the academic community are as introspective as Professor Oldfield with regard to the relevance of the curriculum and methods of teaching.

Basically, what is at issue is the degree to which the University should divorce itself from the international context, foreign standards and models in achieving national aims, and in responding to the needs of indigenous students. Below we will outline a few of the relevant arguments.

There are members of the academic community who believe that the curriculum should take its point of reference from one of the country's many problems of development. It should draw upon students' cultural background and experience of village life and should pay less attention to "theory" and the international body of literature to which disciplines are traditionally orientated. It is hoped that a curriculum which emphasizes village development, agricultural innovations, the pragmatics of rural living, and so on, will fight the tendency of students to form elitist attitudes. As one member stated in his submission to the "Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries" (Gris, 1973:11):

> Papua New Guinea tertiary education should be closely oriented to the immediate and long term needs of the country and should reflect values such as those set out in the Chief Minister's 8-point Improvement Plan.

On the closely allied issue of university standards, some staff and students believe that the University should not compete with universities elsewhere, that standards must be set on a national level, not internationally. Also, some members view an equating of UPNG with Australian universities as most inappropriate. In his submission to the Gris Committee on University Development, one staff member went so far as to suggest the University cease granting degrees and change its name to the "Institute of Development Studies".

Other members of the academic community are more "traditional" in their outlook on the role of higher education in PNG. Some members of academic staff believe that the University should meet international standards in the curriculum, and maintain its reputation both nationally and abroad as a high stature institution of learning. In another submission to the above Committee into Academic Salaries (p. 12), it was stated:

> Present Papua New Guinea tertiary institutions were intended to meet international standards but have been forced by circumstances to adopt standards set in the national context. The result is a high cost compromise.

Some feel that course relevance as it is presently being defined in terms of rural development, subjugates itself to the students' sheltered background and to students' lack of interest in issues and ideas outside of PNG. According to one senior staff member:(11)

> The trend in this University appears to be to define the relevance of a course's content according to how closely it fits in with the background of the Papua New Guinean students. If taken as one of the objectives it is, in my opinion, an excellent one. But I believe there is another and equally important task which if neglected will reduce this University to a very second-rate institution, and reduce the products of this institution to just that — products. This other task is to assist the students to overcome some of the significant limitations of their background in the villages and rural (and mission) schools by providing them with an outlook as well as an inlook. To do otherwise strikes me as being insufferably patronising and shortsighted.

The term "missionary" has come to denote, in the University, a group of academics who approach teaching and the curriculum with a certain "missionary zeal". The missionary academic is, by definition from other academics, one who has come to UPNG for supposedly, purely altruistic motives "to help the black man", as opposed to motives of academic enquiry, research, and excellence in teaching. The missionary academic accepts the local salary scale in order to reduce the economic disparity between himself and students. The missionary academic believes, it is said, that a return to the village life, concern for rural development, anti-elitism, and so on, are "good" for the black student.

Many members of the academic community resent the missionary. They ask "by what right does the expatriate have to say a certain plan of action is 'good' for black students". Also, the ultimate motives of the missionary academic are questioned by other members of the community. Those academics not on the local salary scale are quick to point out that those who are, often have other sources of income, for example, family wealth or another wage earner in the family. In addition, it is felt that missionary academics by their alliance with students and supposed commitment to the needs of the nation, are in actuality merely attempting to build a power base within the institution. But because of their small numbers in the institution, the "missionary academic" does not wield significant power.

Academics of Australian nationality are somewhat more protective of past achievements, and are more inclined to keep up academic standards relative to Australian universities, than are other members of the institution. By contrast, some members of staff of non-Australian and of non-European nationality have consciously rejected the notions of Australian academic standards. At one extreme, certain academics, some of who are nationals of other newly independent countries and fairly junior in academic position, have loosely organized themselves into a quasi-leftist group, which agitates for change in the goals of the institution, and an emphasis upon Marxian theory in the curriculum wherever possible. But the techniques employed by this group often destroys their credibility, such as their publication of an underground newspaper called the "Flying Brick" known mostly for its libellous statements.

However, a few other members of the academic community who are of non-European nationality and hold senior positions within the structure, have proved to be conservative and traditional on course relevance and standards. They are less sympathetic to students' cultural problems in the learning situation, and are more inclined to rigidly enforce overseas standards of performance in the classroom. For example, the Professor of Agriculture, to the chagrin of many of his colleagues and students, was the only Professor to announce the level of pass at a 1975 graduation ceremony. The Professor was of Nigerian nationality.

In other words, members of the academic community express a multiplicity of opinions and attitudes with regard to course relevance, University standards, national needs, foreign models, and the like. Certain variables, such as faculty membership, nationality, ideological orientation, and seniority, do affect the type of opinions and attitudes held. However, neither the above nor any other factors divide staff members into viable pressure groups. The opinions and attitudes held on course relevance and University standards are too diverse, at times even contradictory within the individual, and subject to too many other pressures for the majority of staff members to become polarized on the issues. For example, though members of the Science Faculty are more inclined to be conservative in terms of curriculum design and University standards, and members of the Arts Faculty are inclined to be more open-minded on such issues, there is neither a general consensus of opinion within the faculties nor an active campaign between them, to define and implement specific programmes for increasing/diminishing "relevance".

The degree to which the curriculum should concentrate upon PNG affairs, and the debate over the desirability of national/foreign standards are real issues in the University, but the issues themselves and proposals for their resolution remain vague and lack articulation. This is due, in part, to the failure of the exogenous environment to provide firm definitions and direction on national needs. The Somare government pays a great deal of lip-service to rural development and has sponsored a few programmes in this direction. But there is not a general consensus within the society nor overall programmes which define the goals to be achieved by the nation and the methods to be employed. The society is itself in conflict over the relevance of colonially-introduced foreign models and structures to the needs of the PNG environment. Many members of the academic community, especially those of Australian nationality, employ the argument that it is not the proper role of the expatriate to define what is or is not relevant to PNG society. It follows from this argument that an expatriate academic community should not make decisions which would limit the options available to nationals. But such arguments also serve to mask the lack of direction within the University, and to postpone decisions upon the basic goals and aims to be achieved by the institution. Also, with self-government and independence for the people of PNG, the Australian academics, more so than those of any other nationality, have been placed in an ambiguous and delicate situation. Indigenous students identify them with the former "colonial masters". On the one hand, this criticism of indigenous policies is open to accusations of "neo-colonialism", while on the other, their silence is often interpreted as "paternalism".

Strathern, in a footnote to his Inaugural Lecture (1974:19) as the University's second Professor of Anthropology, states: "the difficulties faced by educators, not knowing what kind of society they are supposed to be serving and aware also that education influences the form of society, are well illustrated by debates at U.P.N.G. during 1973 on the extent to which Arts courses should guide students into professions or otherwise". But the fact remains, as Eisenstadt (1959:314) points out, that "the bureaucracy's goals... are of strategic importance, because they constitute one of the most important connecting links between the given organization and the total social structure in which it is placed". So long as the University remains ambivalent on the basic goals to be achieved, it is likely that the relationship between the institution and the exogenous environment will remain in a state of ambivalence.

As emphasized in Chapter X, the present academic community has lost faith in its ability to participate usefully with the exogenous environment in defining the "needs" of PNG society, and in criticizing apparent inadequacies of the society. Problems of rural development are extremely important and relevant problems for PNG, and deserve high priority in the curriculum. But it must also be recognized that "relevance", as it is presently being defined at UPNG, is also politically expedient, and presents little challenge to student interests or to the official national political aims. Other problems — such as the growing squatter settlements forming around the country's large towns, the plight of the *urban* poor, the escalating degree of juvenile delinquency in Port Moresby and other urban centres, crime, corruption in such important bodies as the police force, ethnic particularism in national political affairs, the nexus between higher education and power and privilege in the society, and a host of other "relevant" but sensitive national problems — remain largely unexplored.

Furthermore, any specific question over curriculum and course content ultimately becomes the prerogative of the faculty and academic department. The academic department can, for example, change the content and orientation of the course, and in so doing, solicit at least the official approval of the entire academic community. The successful proposal for altering an old course or introducing a new one would follow this pattern: an individual academic initiates discussion on the course in the departmental committee, which decides to recommend the new or altered course to a faculty planning committee, which recommends the proposal to the faculty, which endorses the course and recommends it to the Standing or Academic Developments Committee of the Board, which endorses the course and recommends it to the Academic Board for approval; the Academic Board formally approves the course and Council notes it.

However, the process is irreversible; members of the Academic Board, or its sub-committees, would not override the opinions of faculty and department members, even if they were inclined to make suggestions to the faculties about what to teach and how. Moreover, it is extremely difficult for the Board even to initiate discussion upon course relevance and curriculum design, rather, the Board responds to proposals as they come up through the structure.

Norms, precedents, and mutual interests, not official statutes, block the reciprocity of the process of course design. The Council delegates power to the Academic Board to "make by-laws in respect of the structure of courses, the conduct of examinations and qualifications for degrees of the University" (*UPNG Calendar*, 1975:114). By statute the duties of the faculties are to "supervise the teaching in the subjects with which the faculty is concerned; consider and report to the [Academic] Board upon all matters relating to the studies within its scope, including...definition of courses and examination of students" (ibid.:156). But what the statutes mean in fact, is that both bodies are to uphold standards and the integrity of the University — not to participate in course design in individual disciplines. For example, it would be legitimate for either body to reject the proposal for a course which was not "intellectually rigorous or demanding". Though even here the faculty and the Board would depend upon the department for definitions of what is intellectually rigorous in respect to the discipline. But members of neither the Academic Board nor faculties would demand that a department mount a certain course, with certain content and method of teaching and assessment.

The norms of academic freedom and the autonomy of individual teachers, ascribe to the academic the right to pursue intellectual matters without undue interference. Only the expert in the discipline is qualified to comment upon the appropriateness of the subject matter. It is also in everybody's interest not to meddle too extensively in the affairs of faculties and departments. The members of the Academic Board, excluding the Vice-Chancellor and the Librarian, are themselves members of departments and faculties. Though members of the Board, for example, may criticize certain departments as being reactionary, misguided, and traditional in terms of course structure and teaching methods, members would not attempt to actively interfere with the affairs of any individual department, for the next department to come under scrutiny could be their own. Norms of academic freedom and autonomy are of benefit to all members of the academic community, but such norms hinder the processes of adaptation.

The drift from Australian (western) standards and models in course content and structure has been an ad hoc process at UPNG — far from complete. Though there are members of the academic community who do hold extreme opinions about how relevant/traditional the goals of the institution should be, the majority of staff members have not polarized themselves upon the issue nor attempted to force the institution in one direction or the other. Moreover, the degree of relevance required in the curriculum is played off against the demand for professional status and recognition in the society. The discipline remains the most immediate judge of professional or quasi-professional status, and discussions upon relevance in curriculum design and course content are often buried within this basic academic unit.

It should also be remembered that what students are taught in the University must generally conform to the demands of their prospective employers. The major employer of UPNG graduates has been, so far, the public service, itself a bureaucratic, foreign model incorporating western standards.

NOTES

1. D. Elder, V. Harvey and D. Hegarty, "Submission to the Faculty of Arts concerning the Office of Dean and Other Matters", presented to the Faculty of Arts meeting, 3 November 1971, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
2. Professor M. McKay, Memorandum on Academic Government to Faculty of Science, 20 October 1972, Faculty of Science File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
3. A. O'Neill, "Academic Government", paper prepared for meeting of Council, 20 September 1973, Council File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
4. The two other Chancellors not mentioned in the text were Donald Mackinnon Cleland and John Grenfell Crawford.
5. Minutes of Faculty of Arts meeting, 21 October 1970, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
6. A. O'Neill and E. Waters, "Foundation Year Studies", 27 March 1975 (presented to Faculty of Arts meeting, 2 April 1975), Faculty of Arts File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. The following quotations are used by James (1975:28) in his "Faculty of Law, Dean's Report to University Council" which contains a useful description to the background of legal education in PNG, along with the aims the profession hopes to achieve in the future. For a brief review of the professional climate of Law in PNG see "PNG Searches for a Legal System Suited to its Needs and Customs" (Ashton, 1974:24).
10. Interview with Professor F. Oldfield, conducted during the 9th Waigani Seminar, June 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
11. Dr J.H. Winslow, Associate Professor of Geography, Memorandum to Dean of Science Faculty, 18 May 1973, Science Faculty File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

CHAPTER XII

INDIGENOUS STUDENTS: A CHANGING CLIENTELE

During the first period of consolidation, both in terms of character and membership, UPNG moved towards becoming a truly national institution. Today, the majority of the institution's students are born and educated within PNG. Even though the official scheme for sending indigenous students to Australia for secondary education was discontinued in 1973, some students educated under this scheme are still today entering the University, and a few others still receive training in Australia through private sponsorship. But as a group, the Australian-educated indigenous student has lost impact upon the nature and character of the institution (in 1975 less than ten per cent of new indigenous degree enrolments had been to school in Australia). Throughout the first period of consolidation, the student body became younger, more typically Papua New Guinean, and its members shared more intense pedagogical problems. In addition, this new group of students began to distinguish themselves through some exceptional attitudes towards both university education and their expatriate lecturers.

Students enter the University through two primary sources. First, they may matriculate directly into undergraduate courses through attending one of the country's two senior high schools, which commenced to produce their first graduates in 1971. By 1975, 130 (forty per cent) of the University's new undergraduate enrolments matriculated from this source. Though secondary education is itself an experience available to only a few of PNG's youth, the novelty of individual backgrounds is today less important than when tertiary education was first introduced. With the recent and rapid development of secondary education in PNG, the cohort of students who proceed from primary to secondary to senior high school is an exclusive and privileged group, while individuals within the group share a greater degree of common educational experience than was the case in the past. Also, because the country's two senior high schools, as well as other secondary schools, are boarding establishments, many of the students have had some experience in living with each other before coming to University.

The second major source of UPNG undergraduates is the University's preliminary year. It was once thought that with the expansion of senior high schools the preliminary year could be phased out as quickly as possible (A. Brown, 1971:78). Because of financial restrictions on the government, the plan for increasing the number of senior high schools has been more ambitious than the achievement, and the preliminary year has remained a viable source for matriculants (see Stace, 1974). In 1975, 164, or approximately one-half of all new undergraduate students, had previously attended preliminary year.

Almost all Papua New Guinean students have some sort of scholarship to attend the University. Before self-government, the Territory Administration provided the scholarships, while today the PNG Department of Education provides them. The scholarships pay all fees, board and lodging charges, a book allowance, a fortnightly living allowance, and return air fare to the student's home village once a year. It has always been the University's policy that it select the students while government provides the support. In 1975, the University charged K100 per semester for course fees and K140 for board and lodging. Since 1973, overseas students have paid higher fees. In 1976 the fees for overseas students was double that charged to indigenous students. As was shown in Table III, Chapter VIII, the number of overseas students relative to indigenous members has declined significantly in recent years.

From 1976, all new indigenous students at UPNG have been on a government scholarship scheme, termed NATSCHOL (administered by the Department of Education). After the first year of degree study, the student may apply to other sources for support, for example, the Development Bank, Public Service Board, private firms, religious bodies, and so on. Non-government scholarships often pay a higher living allowance along with other fringe benefits, which puts the student holding them at a slight economic advantage. However, the difference in scholarships seems to have caused little resentment amongst students, for those with extra money usually share it out to friends and *wantoks*. Students taking up a scholarship from a private or statutory body have a moral obligation to work for that body upon graduation. But there is no history of "bonding" as is found in Australia.

Today there is still no over-abundance of well-qualified secondary-educated Papua New Guineans. The University must compete for its students, and every year a campaign is launched to attract to UPNG the cream of the country's secondary-educated youths. (In 1975 the University enrolled forty per cent of the 330 senior high school graduates produced that year.) With the University of Technology, the Administrative College, teacher training colleges, various training institutes, apprenticeship programmes, and the private job sector of the society, the PNG student with adequate qualifications has a variety of avenues open to him. In addition, the University has developed a somewhat "bad" reputation among certain sectors of PNG society. The Missions are still very influential in the secondary schools. The "loose" life at University and the supposedly "immoral" behaviour of University students is given much credence in the secondary schools. Some students on their return to the village for holidays have not helped to dispel such rumours. Teachers and family are often afraid that students and children will be corrupted by going to University. This is particularly true of female students, who make up less than eleven per cent of the UPNG student body. The small percentage of females receiving education is reflected in all tiers of the system. But more qualified female students could be enrolled at UPNG if it were not for missionaries, teachers, and family advising them to the contrary.

But it should also be emphasized that Papua New Guinean parents firmly recognize the "value" of higher education for their children, even for their female children. S. Robertson (1974:12), basing her observation on interviews with UPNG female students, writes that:

> Education is such a highly valued resource that bride price increases with the level of education. No-one has told me that her parents did not want her to come to university, but quite a few have had to go against the wishes of teachers and religious advisors. Once women are in educational institutions, the evidence is that parents want them to continue...

My own interviews with female students support Robertson's observation. It seems the apprehension of moral corruption is advanced more by the missionary and the teacher (often one and the same) than by the parent.

With the increase in the number of indigenous students at UPNG, both in terms of real numbers and relative to the number of European students, pedagogical problems resulting from students' cultural background have become more intense for the institution. These problems have always been recognized, but in the early years the European part-time student and the Australian-trained indigenous undergraduate helped to soften their impact. Increasingly, the expatriate lecturer has come to face a classroom filled solely with black, locally-trained scholars. The University has always recognized that its primary responsibility is to the Papua New Guinean student, but in the sociological situation of the classroom, a generous sprinkling of Europeans helped to reduce the intensity of the interaction between expatriate lecturer and indigenous student, and in most cases between white and black.

With the expansion of the educational system at all levels, more students from the least advantaged (in terms of western development) areas of PNG have commenced to enrol in the University. The number of indigenous students enrolled at UPNG from the various districts is shown in Table VI. The ethnic make-up of the indigenous student body is, of course, a consequence of uneven colonial development. Students from the Highland districts are under-represented in the student community, especially in relation to the proportion of the total population living in the Highlands. The greatest number of students are from the Central District, which is not surprising, since Port Moresby and the University are in this district. In general, students from the coastal districts, which have had earlier and more intense European contact than other districts, are over-represented at UPNG.

Because of their geographical isolation, the peoples of the PNG Highlands have been severely limited in access to education. It should be remembered that in the Southern Highlands extensive contact with the European culture took place only within the last thirty years. The University has been under pressure from local politicians to enrol more Highland students; and in cases where a difference in standard is minimal, the University gives preference for enrolment to students from under-represented districts. In addition, students from the Highlands have, in general, been the

TABLE VI

UPNG Indigenous Undergraduate Students by District, 1975

DISTRICT	UPNG Students*		Total Population**	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Western	26	2.6	70,800	2.9
Gulf	36	3.6	73,300	3.0
National Capital	6	0.6	87,000	3.6
Central	162	16.0	116,000	4.8
Milne Bay	66	6.5	110,000	4.5
Northern	33	3.3	64,000	2.6
Southern Highlands	28	2.8	218,000	9.0
Eastern Highlands	44	4.3	253,700	10.4
Chimbu	36	3.6	191,000	7.9
Western Highlands	59	5.8	168,200≠	6.9
Enga	17	1.7		
Morobe	62	6.1	238,300	9.8
Madan	48	4.7	192,400	7.9
West Sepik	23	2.2	102,000	4.2
East Sepik	89	8.8	207,200	8.5
Manus	67	6.6	23,300	1.0
New Ireland	52	5.1	53,400	2.2
East New Britain	75	7.4	115,000	4.7
West New Britain	22	2.2	62,000	2.5
Bougainville	62	6.1	85,900	3.5
TOTAL:	1013	100	2,431,500	99.9

Source: * *UPNG Classification of Students and Enrolment Statistics, First Semester, 1975*; Table 7.

** *PNG Handbook*, 1974; figures rounded to nearest 100.

≠ Enga district was created out of the Western Highlands in 1973. The above figures are based on the 1971 Census.

least prepared of all indigenous students to participate in a western system of higher education. Though a policy decision was never voiced or made explicit, the UPNG academic devotes a considerable amount of worry and effort to the pedagogical problems of these students.

Academics at UPNG have developed an extensive body of technical literature dealing with the learning problems of Papua New Guinean students. But for all the technical investigations into student attitudes, teaching methods, counselling techniques, problems of numeracy and language, and what could be generally defined as cognitive studies, at the core, there remains a residual semi-formal explanation for student learning difficulties. This explanation is best summarized by quoting a report prepared by an Arts Faculty Committee formed to investigate the matter:(1)

> Papua New Guinean students enter the University without a very clear vision of what a University is, or what their roles in a University may be. What some people describe as 'the Melanesian way', therefore, is a conspicuous part of the life style of the student body. What 'the Melanesian way' entails is hard to pin down, and indeed almost every person who uses the expression means something slightly different by the usage. A variety of attributes are often embraced in the term. Almost no students wear shoes, and casual dress is the norm. Students resent being placed in competition with each other, and there have been successful protests against the practice of publishing class lists of course results. Students are also uninterested in distinctions of rank: a member of staff is likely to be addressed by his or her first name; the family name might be used in certain formal occasions; and the title very infrequently. Informality seems to be considered one of the cardinal virtues of the University community...
>
> It is sufficient to say that most secondary schools have something of a mission ethos, even though they are not formally mission schools. It should also be mentioned that most students come from homes in which English is spoken rarely or not at all. Although the sons and daughters of evangelists, pastors and policemen are over-represented in the student body, English is still a somewhat uncomfortable language for the overwhelming majority. It is generally the third language learned by each student: the first is the local language, and the second is either Pidgin or Hiri Motu. Unfamiliarity with English has many consequences. One is a rather slow reading rate; another is lack of much exposure to world events. In short, the educational and social backgrounds of students are somewhat sheltered: the University is often the first milieu in which the students can mix freely with people of different races and cultures and enthusiasms.

Though student school experience in the past may have been sheltered from the outside world, the schools did not provide a refuge from some of the harsher aspects of a colonially-introduced, missionary-influenced educational system. For example, the above Arts Committee collected the following student memories of the school experience:(2)

> [Students] on schools generally: 'rather like a military base', 'more like prison or bible school', 'schools were not institutions of learning but rather places of isolation from the outside world'. Students often expressed vivid ideas on punishment: 'discipline was very hard in primary school because we were thought to have come from savage and primitive societies'; 'we were told to come to school without shorts so that inspections would be made to all parts of our bodies'; 'finally we were to get everything right...after a few explanations. However, when we got them wrong we were punished...but on the other hand I could see that...we paid more attention to the teacher and concentrated more on school work...'; 'so for fear of punishment we had to really behave well. But I really believe that some of these punishments were very unnecessary ...these punishments do sort of create mental disorders'; and finally, perhaps most alarming in this recollection: 'when doing something wrong I feel much more guilty than any ordinary person, because besides offending teachers and other students, I have also offended God'.

Schools and universities in PNG are essentially western-type institutions transplanted on Papua New Guinean soil. In this research UPNG has been regarded as a foreign implant which has its basic structural and intellectual roots in traditions outside the PNG environment. Nonetheless, we have also seen that there has been a considerable degree of interaction between the University's foreign traditions and the particular characteristics of the local environment. This interaction has resulted in structural change to the University, reassessment of curriculum and academic goals, and so on. But the University will never be a truly Melanesian institution for there are simply no precedents in PNG culture (or more precisely, in the variety of different PNG cultures) for such an institution.

It is nonsensical to evaluate western intellectual traditions by directly contrasting them with indigenous beliefs and values — of course, there will be considerable irreconcilable differences. But it is valid to compare the environmental impact and interaction of two or more western-type institutions. If we compare the University to the wider school system, it is clear that there are considerable differences in the way in which each institution acts towards and interacts with Melanesian students. For example, considering the above quotation on students' memories of their school experiences, the University stands out as a much more humane, egalitarian, amiable, and intellectually responsible institution in comparison to the general school system.

However, politicians, students, and teachers often compare the University, not with other western institutions in the country, but with the "Melanesian way of doing things". The phrase "Melanesian way" is used by a variety of groups which attach to it a number of different meanings. The phrase is an ideological symbol, though without basis in fact, for it relates to no empirical pattern of "traditional" Melanesian social organization which existed in the past, exists now in the present or is likely to ever exist in the future. The phrase "Melanesian way" does not symbolize indigenous ideologies, as many of its users contend, but foreign ones.

The phrase "Melanesian way" is widely used, both at the University and in the local community. Politicians use it to express a sense of national identity. It is used to symbolize the country's break with Australian colonialism, and it is often employed as a justification whenever politicians attempt to change the structures of introduced western institutions.

Usually, the phrase "Melanesian way" has positive connotations, but some members of the society, both indigenous and expatriate, use it in a derogatory sense. When a Papua New Guinean fails to perform his job properly, or there is inefficiency and corruption in government, that, for some, is the "Melanesian way".

Several individuals have commented on the meaning of the phrase in letters to the editor of the local newspaper.(3) One person (*PNG Post-Courier*, 24 April 1975) wrote that:

> My definition of the phrase is that we do it our way, not the European way. But I seem to fall short when I say "our way" because this may refer to the Tolai way, since I am a Tolai. What about the Chimbu, Samarai, Daru, etc. ways? They have their ways too, don't they?

Another person (ibid., 30 April 1974) believed it was no more than political rhetoric:

> I feel strongly...that the phrase "Melanesian way of doing things" used by some noisy Papua New Guineans and politicians has no clear definition and is invalid.

In one letter to the editor (ibid., 19 September 1975) the author cynically suggested that the phrase be put to music:

> Someone is going to write a pop song about it soon. "The Melanesian Way" is the vague phrase in writing, talking or wondering about Papua New Guinea. So why not sing it!

In a letter by one UPNG student (ibid., 11 June 1975), the writer suggested that the country's major political problems could be solved "in our Melanesian way, by talk and consensus". Another supporter of the "Melanesian way" discussed in his letter (ibid., 9 May 1975) his own personal attachment to the phrase:

> It came to me as a very great personal shock, but a happy one, to realise that I am first and foremost a Melanesian. Everything else is secondary and added on to my Melanesian essence. My western education, my Christian convictions, my legal knowledge and all my other backgrounds are simply extra niceties.

The phrase "Melanesian way" is used by students to assert that Papua New Guineans have a culture and history outside of colonialism and to deny that they are dependent on European values and methods. But, of course, it is a "false ideology" for there never has been one all-pervasive "traditional" Melanesian culture. It is true that Chimbus, Tolais, Bougainvilleans, and so on, do have histories and cultures that fall outside the colonial experience, and that Papua New Guineans are not "carbon copies" of Europeans. But all the diversity of people and culture in PNG, and the differences between indigenous and European cultural values, cannot be summed up in one ideological phrase.

The fact is that much of the ideological significance given to the phrase "Melanesian way" is drawn from the very European values and traditions that the phrase is supposedly denying. According to many students, the "Melanesian way" is one of non-competitive, egalitarian social relations; their "way" stresses (or ought to) consensus over conflict, the rural over the urban, and the spiritual over the material. Many students, politicians, and some members of academic staff utilize the phrase as an ideological symbol of rural socialism and egalitarian principles. But there is no history of an overall Melanesian political philosophy of socialism and egalitarianism. The notion of egalitarianism (in terms of a political philosophy on which a modern state can be based) which is attributed to the "Melanesian way of doing things" is based more on the introduced ideological beliefs of "liberal" and "leftist" academics at the University, than drawn from past indigenous cultural forms and patterns. During the period 1973-75 there was considerable discussion at UPNG on the Tanzanian pattern of state ownership and rural socialism. These discussions and general socialist principles captured the imagination of many students, who, in turn, attached various socialist and egalitarian principles to the phrase "Melanesian way". But in so doing, students, politicians, and academics gave entirely new meaning to traditional cultural habits (Mazrui, 1970:54).

Indigenous cultures in PNG were more egalitarian in their social organization than those African and Polynesian tribes who had a hereditary aristocracy. But the traditional cultural habits of the various peoples in PNG did not form the basis for the development of a modern collective state. In fact, the "Melanesian way" was one of numerous small villages and clans engaged in subsistence agriculture and clan fights with their neighbours. Mazrui (p. 55) writes that "the tradition of egalitarianism could go either way — either towards mass totalitarian movement or towards a liberal system". The way in which it does go is dependent on how traditional cultural habits are either modified or destroyed in order to meet new requirements.

Some members of academic staff employ the phrase "Melanesian way" to explain why UPNG students are not particularly concerned with gaining high marks in their academic work. The explanation is based on the assumption that the Melanesian emphasis upon non-competitive, egalitarian social relationships runs counter to the principles which underlie western achievement patterns. However, student desire not to be classified upon a hierarchical grading scale has more to do with the pragmatics of the situation than with the "Melanesian way", as one staff member recognized:(4)

> There is very little competition among indigenous students and they tend to withdraw from situations where competition is prevalent. Students don't care about grades and they do not view grades in the same manner as students in more developed countries or in countries where education has had a longer tradition. And why should they take grades seriously? Students here know that as soon as they get a degree they have a good job waiting for them. Why work hard and not have a good time during the University years.

Some members of the teaching staff believe that as competition for employment becomes more severe in the society, competition for good grades within the University will become more important to students.

Students' cultural background, their sheltered school experience, and their problems in dealing with the English language do, certainly, present learning difficulties. But factors such as these represent only half the problem. Whatever the quality of the institution, the segment of Papua New Guinean youth who proceed to university have been plunged into a system of western education for a number of years. The average student may have little idea of what a university is about when he first enrols, but he also has between four and five years to find out. To a significant degree, students have accepted the values and attitudes inherent in a western system of education. In the long run, language and other problems arising from students' cultural background are outweighed by the expectations and attitudes which students formulate toward higher education in general, and toward their expatriate lecturers in particular. In the following pages of the Chapter we will outline a few of the more pertinent and volatile aspects of student life.

STUDENTS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Academic staff have often noted that PNG students have a strong desire for service. Among the students themselves, there is much talk about serving national needs, returning to the village to help their less advantaged countrymen, and so on. For example, one student wrote in a letter to the editor of the local newspaper (*PNG Post-Courier*, 11 June 1975) that:

> I think...we, the 1000 students at the university, must be aware of our debt to our people using, as we do, the facilities which have cost to date millions of kina. My father and my brothers in the village do not have any chance to benefit personally from this unless I devote my energies for their betterment.

Over recent years the UPNG Faculty of Education has mounted a programme where students engage in fieldwork in rural areas. Powell (1974), a former member of the Faculty, implies in his article that students are extremely uneasy when faced with rural areas and rural people. M. Wilson (1975), also a member of the UPNG Faculty of Education, takes Powell to task over these negative impressions. Wilson contends that students have a great affinity with rural people, and he uses students' fieldwork reports to support his point of view. He quotes one student as stating in his fieldwork report (in Wilson, p. 42) that:

> We, the University students, are the future leaders of this country and it is a pity we do not know the needs and aspirations of the majority of our people and go on making big decisions based on urban experience and not rural experiences...
>
> Our task is to get into the villages and see for ourselves what the needs of the majority are, and what we can do for them ourselves.

The fact is that the majority of the University's graduates have taken up the top echelon jobs in the public service — the first UPNG students were trained for this purpose. However, a few students and graduates have involved themselves with economic programmes, development schemes, and political movements at the district level. A few graduates played an important role in obtaining the official recognition of provincial government, legitimized in 1976 (see Ballard, 1977:119-20). With the establishment of provincial government, and as the high-level positions in the public service become occupied, a higher percentage of graduates in the future may devote their services to the rural sector of the society. In terms of political power the provincial/rural base may prove significant for future graduates.

Even though students publicly endorse and emphasize rural service for themselves and others, in private conversation they express some doubt as to whether or not their individual future lies in the rural or urban sector of the society. The boarding school tradition in PNG has meant that many students have had limited contact with the village way of life since an early age. But more significantly, a variety of students noted in interviews and private conversations that their families could not understand why they would wish to return to the village. The family often felt it was a waste of time for their educated children to apply their talents to the rural sector. Rather, they saw the future of their children in the cities, where many more material rewards could be reaped. In addition, the success of the university student in the eyes of his family is often judged by the amount of money and other material goods he brings back to the village. A student arriving home with only a paper qualification may be somewhat suspect to the non-educated Papua New Guinean villager.

When pushed on the topic of rural service, many a student simply said, in private conversation, that he did not know what he would do upon graduation. Many students thought village service was a worthwhile ideal, but they were not sure it was the right ideal for themselves. The degree to which UPNG students return to the village and devote themselves to serving the rural poor, is a process which needs to be empirically assessed some time in the future.

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE

The fact still remains that whether at the provincial or national level, the UPNG graduate has a variety of options available to him within the society. Employment opportunities have yet to become highly competitive, and it will be some time in the future before this happens. Students are well aware that an experience at UPNG is the ticket to opulence, power, and prestige in PNG society. Neither the quality nor the specific content of the degree are of great significance. Students are constantly reminded by family, teachers, politicians, and by the pragmatics of the situation that they are to be the country's future leaders. Though students are also often reminded to develop anti-elitist attitudes, the path is open for them to pursue a career of accelerated upward mobility in the modern, urban economic sector of the society.

Not surprisingly, this situation has led several observers of higher education in PNG to criticize educational systems for helping to create an elitist society. Such criticism involves two basic elements. First, some students of educational processes in PNG draw the parallel between the foreign structure of western educational institutions and the structure of the complex bureaucratic modern economic sector of the society. For example, Sheelan (1976:86) has recently observed that:

> If the competitive consumer society [in PNG] requires an educated elite, a privileged group with access to the most sophisticated consumer goods, the most extended and expensive education, and with attitudes which will help them to get on as bureaucrats in such a system, then that is being achieved...

And a member of the University has informed the Arts Faculty that:(5)

> The educated elite in this country are fitting into this elaborate implanted foreign administrative structure but only by becoming alienated enough to do so. It is we [the expatriate] who have established the rules of the game so it behoves us to be well aware of the appalling inequalities caused by elites in Africa...

However, educational systems are not the only institutions in PNG which are helping to create a stratified, consumer-based, materialistic social system. It would be a mistake to view the modern economic sector of PNG as developing solely around the consumer demands acquired by an educated elite while at school. The western, capitalistic modern structure of PNG society is a product of colonialism. Today, the country's schools and tertiary institutions are training a group of Papua New Guineans in order to replace the expatriate in the overall economic and social structure of the society. In this sense, UPNG and other educational institutions are themselves fulfilling consumer demands for trained manpower; it would be difficult to imagine an alternative to such an arrangement. There were no political, social, and economic indigenous structures on which to base a modern state. Because of Australia's failure to provide secondary education to Papua New Guineans before the early years of the last decade, the educational process now receives much emphasis. But educational institutions need to be viewed in the broader context of all the institutions that have been introduced to PNG under colonialism.

Nevertheless, educational institutions do more than merely supply the society with trained manpower; they are more than a cog in the overall system. This has led to the second element involved in the criticism of higher education in both PNG and in many other newly independent countries; that is, the criticism of educational institutions as examples of the future opulence and prestige which students come to expect from the society. There is little merit in the criticism that such institutions as UPNG, the University of Technology, and the Administrative College have created a local elite, for these institutions were established to train the country's lawyers, doctors, scientists, bureaucrats, and the like. What the critics are implying by the general statement that UPNG and other institutions help to create an elitist society is that the local elite develop values and attitudes through their participation in western institutions which cause them to be self-serving and which divorces them from the needs and problems of their less privileged countrymen. At UPNG, student life is itself rather privileged when compared to the life of the average Papua New Guinean. But the most significant and powerful example to students of what a western lifestyle really means is found amongst the institution's expatriate staff. One staff member cynically expressed, in an interview, that:(6)

> The University is not really teaching students to degree level but giving the local student the opportunity to be with and imitate Europeans. The function of the University is to produce an Australian mirror image for local students to imitate, thus providing them with their most relevant training in taking over the country's top jobs.

And in a submission to the Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries, the author states:

> Because of their economically privileged position in Papua New Guinea society the present UPNG staff and their values serve as models which favour the development of an undesirable elitist society.

There is great economic disparity between expatriate staff and local students. The expatriate staff member not only serves as an example to students of the personal wealth, material goods, mobility, and so on, that can be achieved through a high level of education, but his opulence serves to sponsor conflict between the two groups. Though the student may live in relative luxury compared to the average village dweller, compared to the average expatriate academic and administrator, he lives in poverty. This has led students to question the motives of those who teach them. A portion of the student body is quite cynical with regard to what they are being taught and why.

One student stated in an interview, that though he was about to graduate he still felt quite uncomfortable in the presence of European teachers. He stated that: "The European behaves as if he knows everything". When this student entered the University in 1971, his *wantoks* gave him some good advice:(7)

> In class, do not answer the questions the teachers ask. There is no point in it; it would be a waste of time. Go to class, and possibly you may learn something from the teacher. But there is very little value in trying to teach the European anything about yourself, he is not prepared to listen.

The student went on to criticize certain anthropologists who had written about his village. He considered their descriptions as distorted, especially those concerning some of the more "primitive" aspects of village life. The student saw his village as a happy place; the anthropologists had written about sorcery, traditional clan conflicts, traditional religious beliefs, and so on. By answering the questions of European lecturers, the student believed he would be supplying information for further investigations of village life.

Some students not only feel that the social research conducted by academics in PNG has distorted the concept of village life, but also the academic has somehow become wealthy by such research. In a variety of interviews with students, the feeling was expressed that they and their countrymen were literally "a gold-mine" for social research. On several occasions students have attempted to define the role of the University's expatriate academic. Following are some of the relevant attitudes expressed. In a memorandum to staff prepared by a small group of economics students, it was stated that:(8)

> The staff [lecturers and tutors] are here [at UPNG] because:
>
> 1. They happen to possess certain knowledge in a certain field of economics, and that this knowledge is sold here at a certain price. So the staff are here to exchange their knowledge for the price for an agreed length of time.

> 2. Having specialised in their various fields, they use their skills, talents or qualifications, using the people as guinea-pigs in the name of research to analyse the problems their colonial grandparents have created, without giving any practical help to the people they study, but reaping prestige and high salary from their research.

In 1974 the Academic Board was considering a proposal to lengthen the inter-semester break. In response, the Board received a petition signed by 273 students who were against the proposal. One student wrote on the petition that:(9)

> If the Honourable academics of the Arts Faculty think that they should have a long inter-semester break so that they could go on holidays or engage in academic research which would enable them to Climb up the academic ladder (e.g., from BA to MA to Ph.D. or from tutor to Professor) then they are dead wrong. We shall not let them do such things at the expense of students. It is bad enough a sin if academics copy material from students' assignments for their thesis, but it is worse still when they start devising other means, such as the present proposal to meet their own ends! It seems that the greatest sinner that we have to look-out for here in P.N.G. is an academic thief who engages in academic exploitation of students and village people alike!

The proposal was dropped.

In a paper to the Faculty of Arts concerning the application for overloads, a group of students wrote that:(10)

> Students are not given the *freedom* to decide for themselves the length of Studies; and the number of courses to be taken per semester; and the reason the staff and the bureaucrats give, hinges on the question of keeping a certain standard...
>
> The students...who would have completed their course in two years or so are bound by rules of standards to stay two years longer, wasting their productive years, and sucking government money.
>
> As an establishment of Capitalism, the university allows students to stay longer than it is necessary so that the bureaucrats can administer them to get extra salaries; and the staff can teach unnecessary courses for extra years and get extra salary and prestige by using the students as guineas-pigs (sic).

The majority of students are not so extreme in their opinions of expatriate staff. Nevertheless, there is a high degree of ambivalence amongst most students in their relationship with members of the teaching staff. While they are constantly reminded to be anti-elitist, they see living virtually around them — the staff housing estate partially encircles the main campus — a group of highly educated individuals with a high level of material wealth. In fact, most expatriates in PNG possibly live more conspicuously here than in their home country. It is doubtful if any of the expatriates teaching at UPNG could afford to employ in Australia, Great Britain, or in any other western country, the domestic servants they employ in PNG. The economic disparity between the expatriate and the Papua New Guinean is great, and it exists in full view of students.

It is not surprising that one group of people, in a small, rather isolated community such as UPNG, who must depend upon inadequate public transport for a long, dusty trip into the city, live in noisy, hot, and cramped surroundings, and wash their clothes by hand in cold water, hold some suspicion and envy towards another group of people who own private automobiles, live in large houses and flats with air-conditioning and automatic washing machines operated by domestic servants. Nor is it surprising that some members of the former group are impatient to receive the rewards which a high level of education brings and are jealous of members of the latter group who have already received them.

The Gris Committee suggested that life amongst both students — they used to have automatic washing machines — and expatriate staff should be less luxurious. Also, expatriate staff are no longer paid salaries effectively higher than those in Australia. But such measures have done little to eliminate the economic disparities or the social cleavages they generate between academic staff and indigenous student.

Economics is only one element in staff/student relationships. Generally, members of the academic community have become isolated from their students, and at a time of increasing responsibility and some uncertainty about the future for all citizens of PNG, expatriate academics have provided little comfort to the student body. On one level, the problems which students face today are national problems, such as provincial rivalry, secessionist movements, ethnic hostility, and the placement of many peoples from highly divergent backgrounds in one nation. These problems effectively exclude the expatriate. But there are other factors involved. Before continuing our discussion on these lines, it will be useful to first say a few words about social control, and how students spend their time.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The rift between staff and students is more subtly profound than an overt eruption. There has yet to be any form of organized aggression against the University by students. For one thing, there is little need for students to demonstrate organized aggression against the University or academic staff — their demands are too readily met extemporaneously, as will be discussed in a moment. However, each year the University suffers thousands of dollars loss through student vandalism, and amongst students themselves there is some violence.

Student discipline has always been a problem for the University. Though there is official machinery set within the statutes to deal with such problems, it has proved to be ineffective. For one thing, the University's administration has never seen itself in the role of disciplinarian. Rather, the emphasis has been placed upon student maturity and self-discipline.

With the problem of student discipline increasing, the "Working Party on the Future of the University" suggested that official recognition be given to district associations in student government. The associations are student organizations structured upon the ethnicity of the group, for example, the "Chimbu Students Association", the "Tolai Students Association", etc. The SRC is now, except for the top positions, constituted of representatives from the various associations.

The Working Party felt that students organized by ethnicity would be better able to police themselves. While a student might have disrespect for an expatriate or local authority figure outside his group, he would be more inclined to accept discipline from others within the ethnic group. However, the involvement of district associations in student government only served to give official sanction to what was one of the main lines of cleavage within the University community — ethnicity.

Official recognition of district associations did not create ethnic conflict; conflict based on district and ethnic affinity has always been an underlying factor in the social relations of students. For example, in 1969 when the University received a gift of Dubu poles from the Koitaba people and the then Port Moresby Local Government Council, the Vice-Chancellor suggested that the poles not be placed in a prominent position for fear of a reaction from students of other "tribal groups".(11)

The ethnic group gives the new student a sense of identity and comfort in what is initially a confusing world at the University. Students stroll about the campus with their kinsmen and other students from their home districts. Boy/girl relations are usually formed within the ethnic group, though inter-ethnic relationships between the sexes are not uncommon. Senior students from a certain home district recognize their responsibility to new students from that district. The new student learns as much about the University from his *wantoks* as from any other source. Violent feuds have erupted between ethnic groups at the University, resulting in a great deal of damage to both person and property.

Conflict amongst ethnic groups is not peculiar to the University. Moreover, groups in conflict with each other in the University usually belong to ethnic groups who are in conflict in the larger society. In this sense the ethnic tension at the University is merely a reflection of the tension which exists in the entire society.

Ethnic cleavage can be over-stressed. For example, in July 1973 a riot erupted in Port Moresby following a weekend football match between Papua and New Guinea — New Guinea lost the game. There was a weekend of violence, with groups of New Guineans taking to the streets and physically assaulting Papuans. In response, the students at UPNG staged a march for peace and national unity through the streets of the city. Students hoped to demonstrate the futility of the Papua/New Guinea antagonism, and their actions did help to restore order (see Woolford, 1976:196).

Students' shared past experience often overrides ethnicity and serves as a strong force for unity in the student body. Few student parties were organized solely along lines of ethnic, "clan", or district membership, and the more senior students formed friendship patterns with a variety of other students outside their own ethnic group. Ethnicity is only important depending upon the issue. For example, if a scarce resource is in question, for example, the availability of girlfriends, ethnicity operates quite strongly and becomes the most significant variable in predicting peoples' actions. But when issues are not so particular to individual group interest, ethnicity plays a less important role.

The indigenous students at UPNG have had many years experience in living with each other, and they do see themselves as students. They are protective of their rights as students and share a common identity which often transcends provincial and even national boundaries. For example, at the first movie I attended with a group of student friends on campus, the gate manager asked me to pay the higher expatriate staff fee. The group I was with immediately interceded on my behalf, stating that I was a student and therefore should only be required to pay the lower student fee. After all, I lived and ate with students, and though a foreign research student, I was accorded by my Papua New Guinean friends the same rights and privileges as other students.

There is also a strong sense of identity amongst University graduates and other ex-students, based on their past experience at UPNG. It must be remembered that even in 1975, the number of Papua New Guinean graduates was so small that they all were well-acquainted with each other. In addition, nearly all graduates have gone into the public service, which has helped to keep them in contact with each other.

There is one criterion, however, by which one group of students is segregated and deprived, vis-a-vis all other groups, that is, sex. Female students, who constitute only about eleven per cent of the total indigenous student population, all live in a single dormitory called Luavi House. Luavi is a four-storey concrete building with a courtyard enclosed by a besser-brick wall topped with barbed wire. The main entrance to the dormitory — the others are locked — is manned by a security guard. In appearance and in the reality of the situation, Luavi resembles a fortress under siege.

Even more so than males, the female student has great difficulty in overcoming her boarding-school background on arrival at the University. Female students note themselves that "too much freedom here [at UPNG] after the strict rules in high school" is a very serious problem (Still, 1975). The preliminary and first-year female student is painfully shy. In class she is more likely to giggle and blush than to respond when asked a question. But for those females who survive the system to graduation, a marked degree of sophistication and social control is demonstrated. They will undergo many personal changes and, in the process, suffer many hardships.

In direct association with males, the female student demonstrates passivity, and is often reluctant to state opinions. This mode of behaviour is particularly acute among young preliminary year and first-year female students educated solely within the country. It is often pointed out that in traditional culture the female is subordinate to male authority. Temu (1975:329) writes, with regard to the place of woman in his own village, that:

> In our traditional society men think of themselves as dominant and see women mainly as caretakers of the house and family. Women, as far as the men are concerned, are background figures. Although they depend largely on women in many things, and in fact they consider women as more valuable labourers in the gardens than themselves...they see them as their subordinates.

But it is likely that the attitudes of male dominance and female subordination among students at UPNG is also a result of the mission influence at boarding school (see Prince, 1971:23).

Male dominance and the female student's shyness or reluctance to state opinions in the company of males has a direct effect on classroom interaction. Lewis (1974:57), in his research on the difficulties experienced by students at tertiary institutions in PNG, notes that tutorial "classes are dominated by males (tutors and students) and female students are afraid to take part in dicussions or speak out when they can't understand". Nevertheless, Still and Shea (1976:63), in an extensive research project specifically concerned with the plight of UPNG female students, state that "despite the seriousness of women student's problem (sic), they seem to be doing about the same academically as their male classmates".

The female student faces her gravest problems outside the classroom. The first and probably foremost problem which she confronts is her minority status. Still and Shea (p. 63) conclude that "male drunkenness, threat of physical aggression and pregnancy are the most serious problems facing women students". And their minority status "both in terms of enrollment figures and participation in University activities, makes the major social problems of pregnancy, male drunkenness and concern over physical safety more difficult to handle" (p. 42).

Female students exist in an environment which is ninety per cent male. Lewis (1974:57) writes that:

> Women students are at a premium and subject to intense pressure to form relationships...
>
> Some girls are unable to handle a domineering boyfriend whilst others may reorganize their life to be with their boyfriends...

Females are a "scarce resource" at UPNG and throughout Port Moresby. The security guard on the door at Luavi House was not there to keep females in, but to keep males out. The problem arose during the evenings, after the University Club closed, when intoxicated males visited Luavi in search of "women". The University's administration felt that the posting of a security guard would help protect female students from assault by males, but the arrangement proved most ineffective. Those employed by the security services were ill-educated and it was an easy process for male students to talk their way around the guard.(12) In addition, the guards had more sympathy for the males than for the females.(13)

Still and Shea note that female students feel uncomfortable walking about the campus at night, and this includes trips from Luavi House to the University library (a distance of about three hundred metres). This uncomfortable feeling is the result of an accurate assessment of the threat of physical violence — namely bodily assault and rape. Very rarely during the period of field research did I see a female student at night, even in early evening, walking alone.

The threat to the female student's physical safety comes from two directions: from male students and from males outside the campus. Gross physical assaults were, in general, perpetrated by male groups from outside the campus. Port Moresby is a violent town. Breaking and entering offences are high, and gangs of unemployed youths (called "rascals") are becoming prevalent in the Port Moresby area. The University employs a security service which patrols the campus and housing estate. But the service has been ineffective in protecting both the property and the members of the University.(14) During the period of field research several rapes occurred on campus, one being extremely savage. These more grotesque forms of violence were usually attributed to youth groups (such as the "Waigani Rascals"(15)) and other intruders from outside the campus, not to male students.(16)

How male students interfered with the physical and mental well-being of their female classmates is a complex topic. Such interference ranged from drunken male students accosting and heckling females on the footpath, males creating disturbances in Luavi House which prevented females from studying, males physically assaulting their girlfriends, to males making female students pregnant and taking little or no responsibility for their actions. During the field research it was common for me to observe groups of male students visiting Luavi House, talking and pushing their way past the security guard, and then proceeding to generally make a nuisance of themselves in the dormitory. In a conversation with one male student he boasted to me that, during his university career, he had fathered at least four children with four different female students.

While at University, a significant number of female students will become pregnant. As previously noted, Still and Shea found in their study that pregnancy was identified, by the female students questioned, as one of their most serious problems. Jacka (1974:37-8) attempted to quantify the pregnancy rate at various institutions. She estimated that forty per cent of females would become pregnant while UPNG students. This compares with a rate of twenty-six per cent at the Port Moresby Teachers College. Still and Shea (p.26) note that when they mentioned Jacka's figure of a forty per cent pregnancy rate to the female students they interviewed, no one questioned its reliability.

Illegitimacy does not have the social stigma attached to it as is often the case in more industrialized nations. Papua New Guineans of both sexes are extremely fond of children, and pregnancy does not automatically exclude the female from her university career, though it does make her life more difficult. Women frequently find their own solutions to problems of pregnancy "with great pragmatism and co-operation" (S. Robertson, 1974:11). Some students who become mothers keep their children with them in their rooms at Luavi House. Still and Shea (p.41) observe that:

> Some Luavi residents complained about "wet nappies" and the crying but most seemed to feel it was a situation which required tolerance for "where else would they [the mothers] go?"

Lewis (1974:50) feels that one of the causes of the high pregnancy rate is ignorance by both male and female students of the reproductive process and modern birth control methods. But I doubt that this is the basic problem. While students may not practise birth control, information on family planning and contraceptive pills and devices are available.

There is probably no one reason why so many of the female students do not avoid pregnancy. Male dominance and the minority status of women both contribute to the problem. Either through fear of physical aggression or through a feeling of subordination, female students are conditioned to "give in" to the desires of the male. But it also needs to be recognized that students of both sexes have more freedom to form relationships at the University than they had at boarding school. And the problem may not be that there is too much freedom at the University, but that there was too little freedom and too few opportunities for students to develop responsible attitudes and relationships whilst at boarding school. In addition, and this probably lies more at the heart of the matter, pregnancies are not always unwanted. Still and Shea (p. 55) write that:

> No study, including this one, has found out why students choose not to avoid pregnancy. When the social reality for single females is considered, however, one cannot help but wonder if pregnancy is viewed as an escape. Students seemed to feel that being a wife/mother made studying more difficult but people do not always choose what is easiest.

The University's response to the predicament of the female student has been, mainly, a bureaucratic one. Ineffective housing rules are imposed, while committees investigate the problem. The female student plays neither a significant part in student politics nor in the University's decision-making process. The University has yet to give full recognition to the extent of the problem. Still and Shea (pp. 63-4) conclude their study by stating that:

> ...the major change in the women's living conditions seems to be the increased use of barbed wire and security guards. There seems to be no administrational consideration of what such measures convey about the administration's opinion of male student's ability to follow rules and female student's right to freedom of movement. It would not be an exaggeration to say that some female students have concluded Luavi is prison-like.

But it also needs to be recognized that the plight of female students places the University's administration in a difficult position. Students arrive on campus from a school background where authority is the norm. The University's administration and academic staff have consciously avoided identification by students as authority figures. Many students noted that when first faced with the free situation at the University there was a tendency to "go wild". The norms and values of village elders and school headmasters are not applicable to student relations at the University. Rather, it has been left almost entirely to students themselves to establish what is, and is not, socially desirable in their new environment. Individual responsibility, maturity, and social freedom are among some of the primary values on which the University was founded. Clearly, there is more that the University could do to protect the rights of female students, and the rules that have been established discriminate against the victims of male aggression. But all students experience dramatic changes in their behaviour patterns, attitudes, and norms while at UPNG, and it is not surprising that social conflict is one of the by-products. Many members of the administration themselves recognize that there is a delicate balance between maintaining UPNG as a liberal community and protecting the rights of all its members. Maintaining this balance is one of the most exacting tasks which the University now faces.

Nevertheless, the female student does adjust to life at the University. Pregnancy and male aggression are only two of many problems which the female student must overcome. She also needs to come to terms with changing religious attitudes, her freedom at UPNG vis-a-vis authoritarian rules at boarding school, the University's teaching pattern, and so on. While conducting the field research, I asked a lecturer in the Literature Department to solicit student volunteers to write essays on their experiences in adjusting to life at University. I received four essays by three male and one female student. The female student wrote a sensitive, personal exposé of how she came to cope with university life. I reproduce the essay below for it illustrates, in my opinion, many of the common problems faced by UPNG students. The essay also speaks of how students came to accept some of the primary values of a western system of higher education. The title of the essay is "What I Should Have Known About the University in Form 4", by Mary Toliman:

> When I received a letter from the University telling me that I was accepted at the University of PNG to do Preliminary Year, I shivered with fright. The idea of attending this university was a frightening one. To think I was to live in a place where all the brainy people are, where there are so many people especially Europeans, I was hesitant. To compete with Europeans especially was something that never existed in my life.
>
> I felt frightened of being lost and the idea of leaving my school, family and friends was hurting. I wondered what the university would be like, whether the students will ever be friendly to me, or whether I'll ever make friends with others at all.
>
> As I was in a Mission Girls High School I was so discouraged when seeing some school mates who had attended the university but then discontinued because of the wrongs they have done. There was not much encouragement from my environment, I felt

so frightened. My environmental impression of the University was like *hell* and who ever goes there will automatically become an evil person. I was worrying over my decision, however I decided to give it a go.

Arriving at the University, the first thing I noticed was boys and girls going freely together. My skin shivered for from my past life, right from my cultural background and the type of school I attended, boy to girl relationship was restricted and they never walked together that much. The second thing I noticed was the tremendous number of students. Never in my life have I ever come across such a community. The number of boys was so high compared to that of the girls which was only less than 100. One very interesting thing I found was the introduction of a stranger to some others. I was being introduced to nearly everyone we met, and from the way they greeted me, I could see, they could easily make friends. I then related it to my making friends with others thinking I could also make friends very easily, despite the thoughts from back in high school, and seeing I was being known already by a few people. In about a months time, I found I had quite a number of friends.

Sitting in the mess on the first morning for breakfast, with a wantok of mine, I made the sign of the cross before eating. Coming out from a high school where Religion was so strong and in which I was used to it for four long years, I for the first time felt a bit uneasy. My wantoks took a quick glance at me, as well as a few people on the next table. For the first time I felt embarrassed of my own Religion. I felt guilty inside me for remembering what my teachers use to tell me, "NEVER FEEL SHY OF SHOWING CHRIST TO THE WORLD", it was now a contradiction. I tried my best to keep up to it, but everytime, I just couldn't lift my hand, for fear of being mocked or laughed at. Not long I found that people somehow tended to hate me. I myself never wanted to be isolated from them but I still wanted to be a Christian. After a long while, I then learnt from experiences that I shouldn't follow exactly what I was told to do but to think and fit myself into a certain type of situation.

When we started school, I was lost for sure. Fortunately a friend of mine came along and said, "Have you got a time-table?" I, knowing what it was, but not its use, replied, "What for?" "So that you know the days and times you are going for classes and the subjects", she replied. I told her that I never knew students keep a time-table. I was thinking there would be a big time-table put up, just like in High School. I soon learnt that each student had his/her own time-table and that they are all different.

When we went into the classroom to have school there were so many of us. In fact, it was the whole group of Preliminary students. I wondered how a teacher would manage to have a class of 200 students whereas back in High School, the biggest class consisted of 32 students.

When our teacher walked in, I somehow wanted to stand up and say "Good Morning", as what we used to do in High School but the teacher beckoned us to sit down. I felt a bit guilty as to omit saying "Good Morning" to a teacher was a great offense. I soon learnt, that our teacher was not called a teacher at all, but a lecturer.

Our lecturer then told us that this time we were to jot down necessary notes as he was lecturing. Man, I was frightened. I wondered how I could do it especially as in High School, students just had to copy what the teacher wrote. Here it was different as I had to keep my own notes.

Given the first assignments to be done I did nothing, especially when I found they were a little bit hard. Still thinking someone will have to stand at my back, telling me to do this and that, nothing was done. I had to learn to be on my own. In fact, back in high school our teachers helped us a lot in every little problem. I thought it was great so I started to be lazy, knowing someone was still around to help me out. However, it was a disadvantage in this University situation. Seeing I was always late with assignments and my marks were low, I decided to be *on my own.* I then realised I was now *my own BOSS, deciding and organising myself.* I now see, teachers are no longer needed but that I was now an *INDIVIDUAL.*

Besides this, I found I was now *FREE* as the breeze, free from those restrictions back in High School. Somehow I was happy to be on my own, thinking and deciding for myself. However, whenever I tried to be too free, e.g., forgetting about assignments to chatter away with friends, some of my works were always late. There were many activities going on in the campus, e.g., pictures nearly every night and dances nearly every weekend. I then learnt that in a free situation like this, the hardest thing to do is *deciding whether to study or not.*

As the year went on, I found I spent very little time on the subjects that do not interest me most, but were probably important. Rather than that, I spent nearly all my time on the subjects I had great interests in. This led me to handing assignments on the units I had very little interests in, late and also my marks were low. I always felt sad.

Coming into class one time, my tutor seeing my marks low asked how much time I use to spend on that special unit. I told him the truth that I spent very little time on it. He then advised me to divide my study time up equally every night, into the number of units I was doing and to do bit by bit at a time rather than doing the whole lot at one go. It was okay saying it, but to put into practice was hard.

I then came to have classmates older than me, some middle-aged people and mostly men. As this was the first time again I use to have boys as classmates, since Primary School, I felt a bit nervous to talk up. As I attended a Girls High School and seeing boys dominating the class, it discouraged me. Many times, I tried to chicken out, but as part of our assessment was based on class participation, I had to pull up my socks. I had learnt, that as a female competing in a world of males for higher education, I had to play my role. Thus, I have always remembered that life at the University is always a competition.

Thus for my conclusion, I should say that the very first things about the University life is that students are *free* and are *individuals*. The University shouldn't be regarded as *hell* but a place where a person finds more *challenges in life*. Above all, the *secret of University studies* is not merely *Knowledge* but the *DETERMINATION* of a person in order for him or her to get through.

HOW STUDENTS SPEND THEIR TIME

The University is somewhat isolated from the town, and Port Moresby is itself isolated from the rest of the country. There are few sources of entertainment in the town, and even fewer which students can afford. Students spend some of their time visiting friends and attending parties at the residence of friends and *wantoks* on the nearby housing estate. Dances at the Administrative College, which is in close proximity to the University, are popular with students. They also attend parties at the homes of some staff members, but these events have become less common. It is on campus where students have to spend most of their time — where they eat, sleep, study, and entertain themselves.

Reading and studying for their various courses takes up a major portion of students' time. But serious reading is limited almost solely to that prescribed by the various courses (Powell and Saunana, 1974), and students do not show a great deal of interest in reading serious literature (which is due, in part, to the fact that English is their second language). Among the students with whom I lived, it was more common for me to see them exchanging comic books rather than novels. But the halls of residence do not provide an environment that is conducive to either studying or serious reading (Shea and Still, 1976:49-50).

The dormitory rooms are hot, and would be even hotter if any attempt was made to soundproof rooms without the installation of expensive airconditioning units. Noise, drunkenness, and fights are not confined to Luavi House, they also present problems for the male student who may wish to study in peace and quiet in his own room. Even normal behaviour by one's neighbours can disturb study, for the openness of the rooms, and the architectural design of the dormitories, allows the sounds from conversations, radios, musical instruments, and so on, to waft in from all directions. I lived in the dormitories myself throughout the year of 1975 and I have complete sympathy for any student who attempts to read or study in his/her own room. The University library was the only building on campus (possibly with the exception of the laboratories in the science building) which provided an adequate study environment; and the library did not have the space to accommodate even half the student population at any one time. With the approach of end-of-term examinations the library was usually full beyond capacity (during 1975 an extension to the library was under construction).

Besides study, the main activities on campus for students were drinking and socializing at the University Club and in the dormitories, the screening of American "B grade" movies, weekend dances, and sporting events. The activities which involved the time of academic staff, for example, public lectures, guest speakers, the Waigani Seminar, and other such events, were of little interest to students. During the 1975 Waigani Seminar, many more students were congregated outside the lecture hall watching the bulldozers break ground for an extension to the library than inside listening to the presentation of papers.(17)

From the beginning, sport has played an important role in the lives of many UPNG students. A football match at the University oval on a Saturday afternoon would attract a large crowd of students as well as some members of staff. Only males participated in the more prestigious sporting activities, such as football, with the female students assigned to the role of spectator. Some female students did play sport, for example, girls hockey, but their matches did not attract large crowds.

On several weekends during term the Student Representative Council and other student associations would hold a dance. These were usually well attended, but there would never be enough females present in relation to the number of males. The male student who attended a dance with his girlfriend would often be overly protective of her against the advances of other males, even those who simply wanted to dance. The few unattached females who did attend dances were always in great demand. And here ethnicity often played a role. While the individual male would be aggressive towards another who attempted to interact with his girlfriend, a particular ethnic group would demonstrate, on occasion, collective jealousy if an unattached female student of their ethnic group showed interest in the advances of a male from outside their group.(18) Also, some of the male students, before attending a dance, would have engaged in heavy drinking.(19) The combination of these factors would sometimes lead to a dance ending in a brawl.(20)

During the week and at weekends (in the absence of other activities) old American movies would be shown in the main lecture theatre. The majority of the movies were second-rate Hollywood productions, but they were very popular with students, especially the younger ones.

During the academic year there were some periods when students had idle time on their hands. Though there were structured extra-curricular activities in which students engaged, there were not enough to absorb the energies of a predominantly young male student body. Idle time and the lack of enough constructive activities in which students were interested were, in my opinion, factors which contributed to two important (interrelated) problems: male drunkenness and student vandalism.

As previously mentioned, the University suffers, annually, many thousands of dollars in damages to its property through student vandalism. The root cause of vandalism is very worrying to academics and administrators. While some view student vandalism as a direct attack on, and discontent with the institution, others view it merely as delinquency. Some members of the academic community go to great lengths to explain vandalism in terms of psychological disorientation.

But the acts of vandalism which I witnessed during the field research were not the result of student discontent with the institution nor psychological disorientation. It was more a case where University property either got in the way or was not seen as important by students while they were engaged in other activities. Possibly, a couple of examples from the field notes will illustrate the problem:

> On Wednesday night...I was sitting on the steps of the University forum [adjacent to the Library] with a group of five students... The group discussed at length what there was to do. Michael...suggested we go to see a couple of female tutors he knew, but no one else seemed too enthusiastic about the idea. Michael then bought us all soft-drinks in glass bottles... The group engaged in casual conversation, but a sense of boredom pervaded all of us. [One student]...casually rolled his empty soft-drink bottle down the concrete steps. After one or two bounces, it broke. [Another student]...then did the same then [another]... did likewise... A security guard finally came over to us and told us to stop it.

After exchanging general unpleasantries and abusive phrases with the security guard, the group of students I was with moved on. But the breaking of soft-drink bottles on the University's steps was not a wilful attack against the institution — it was a game, it was fun, and something to do.

I spent a considerable amount of time during the field research "mucking about" with students, and on several occasions I observed mischievous activities similar to that described above. Students did not have a great deal of respect for University property, but what student body does? However, the breaking of bottles on the University's steps, throwing stones at windows to attract the attention of a friend, needlessly setting off fire alarms, and so on, were not acts which expressed students' latent discontent with the institution; rather, they were the acts of a young male population who often had too much to drink and nothing better to do.

The most extensive damage of University property that I observed, occurred in the very dormitory block where I lived. I had spent the night at the house of a friend. When I returned the next morning I found the common room, three doors up from my own, in complete disarray. The door was broken, the windows were smashed, the floor was littered with debris and the walls were splattered with blood. I asked my neighbour what had happened and was told that a group of students had had a drinking party which ended in a fight.(21) The breakage may have been an act of vandalism in the sense that public property was destroyed, but students were not venting their rage toward the University, rather they were expressing aggression toward each other.

University students are, by and large, a volatile group. Violence, at least from the point of view of an outside observer, can be spontaneous. On several occasions I observed a group of students drinking and socializing in what seemed a congenial manner, when suddenly a fight would erupt. Boredom often leads to the high consumption of alcohol, which in turn, helps to sponsor violence. But boredom is not the root cause of violence amongst students, it is merely a contributing factor.

Australian social norms run counter to open expressions of violence. In PNG, violence may be more of a socially acceptable activity. Barnes (1962:9) writes that: "A characteristic of Highland cultures, and perhaps of Melanesia as a whole, is the high value placed on violence". Furthermore, in indigenous cultures there were no strong, extended political alliances to serve as a force for peace. Of course, as Barnes points out, indigenous social institutions had their mechanisms for resolving conflict and for preventing a "war of all against all", but it seems the indigenous peoples of PNG, more so than say those of Africa, placed emphasis on violence for its own sake. In the PNG context, a strong social norm against physical aggression may be a recent western introduction that has yet to take a firm hold.

Students undergo dramatic changes in attitudes and behaviour patterns while at UPNG, and this sometimes leads to overt conflict. There is a tenuous and delicate relationship between students and the national government. Self-government and independence not only affected the position of expatriate staff but also that of indigenous students. Increasingly students are becoming a group apart from both expatriate academics and national politicians, which also helps to sponsor tension and strain in the student body. As students become more isolated, their internal conflicts are compounded.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STAFF AND STUDENT

It is interesting to note that at the same time as academic government was becoming more democratic and involving more of the academic community in the decision-making process, students and academics were drifting apart. In one sense, this was due to the mere growth of the institution. In the early years it was possible for a member of the academic staff to know the majority of the indigenous students, but as the student body grew in number this possibility vanished. But there are other, more complex reasons for the increasing lack of purposeful interaction between the two groups.

In terms of the formal structure, staff do attempt to involve students in the decision-making process. Throughout all tiers of the system there are opportunities for student representation in the various committees, faculty meetings, board meetings, and so on.

However, there is very little desire among students to participate in these decision-making bodies. In the day-to-day functioning of the University, and with regard to issues which are not of immediate concern to students, student participation is minimal. There are several explanations as to why there is so little interest on the behalf of students to serve on the University's committees, for example:(22)

> Since, for the moment, most students can anticipate spending the rest of their lives in public service committees of one kind and another, it would be churlish to complain at their reluctance to participate in structures established by the University, especially as the concerns of these committees often are, and more often seem, remote from the immediate concerns of the student body.

In 1973 the Arts Faculty appointed a committee to investigate why students would not sit upon the Faculty's committees. The report, prepared by the convenor of the committee,(23) summarizes a few of the more cogent reasons for the lack of student participation. In general:

> There is some reason for claiming that UPNG is, at the moment at least, a 'degree factory' designed to give students a ticket into the well-paid jobs in government and industry now undergoing rapid localisation, and that even if staff are concerned about the 'quality' of relations here, most of the students (perhaps sensibly) are not, except insofar as their personal interests are involved.

The author continues to outline a few more specific elements of the problem:

> I have already made it clear that in many ways the university is over-administered and that its structure is too complex and difficult for students to be able to make an impact on how things are done here...
>
> Again, my impression is that just as the committee structure is too complex to be able to provide students with easy access to the system, so the student body is too diverse and fragmented to be able to mount an effective system of representation for all students.

It is also mentioned that when students do attend committees, they are often outvoted and "smothered in a flood of verbiage from the academics present". The author notes that perhaps it is better that students are not socialized into the University's complex system of committees, boards, and the like.

Whether formally socialized into the system or not, students are able to protect their interests without having an effective system of formal representation. The student body is highly fragmented, and the SRC has always been in a shambles in terms of organization

(Oldfield, 1973:33-41). But indigenous students are self-conscious of their "rights" and they do act when an issue involves their immediate interests. A relevant example is the following student reaction to a proposal that, in order to improve standards and student counselling, attendance at lectures and tutorials be compulsory:(24)

> Although we [students] agree that some students may need help in order to pass their exams, this does not mean that the University should have the right to make restrictive and paternalistic rules effecting [sic] all students. If a student needs help in his studies he should be able to go to the appropriate service voluntarily.
>
> University students do not like being treated as high school kids. We are quite mature enough to make our own decision about progress and attendance.
>
> The restrictive action which has been taken suggests that Papua New Guineans cannot be regarded as adults. We suggest to the University, or to whoever initiated the action that this paternalistic attitude must cease immediately.

Though the above came from the SRC President, the issue had not reached any level of real articulation or conflict between staff and students. But, as is the case with the majority of issues of this nature, the proposal was dropped.

In 1975 the University Bookshop was in financial difficulties, and some members of staff believed that part of the cause was that students were not spending their book allowances on books. In order to alleviate the problem, the Academic Board considered, in November, a proposal to request student sponsors to pay the allowance directly to the Bookshop rather than to students. Prior to the Board meeting, the Vice-Chancellor received a letter from the SRC President, who is also a member of the Board, stating that all students were against such a scheme. The SRC President did not even bother to attend the Board's discussions on the proposal, but his absence did not jeopardize student interest. The Board passed a motion that the book allowance payable to students be reviewed with a view to a possible increase.

Members of the expatriate academic community were painfully conscious of not permitting student demands to reach a level where an issue became a rallying point for protest. In the face of student opinion, the unwritten policy of the academic community was to abdicate. Though students did not participate in the day-to-day decision-making process within the University — not because they were excluded, but because they chose not to participate — when an issue was at hand which students felt was relevant to their immediate interests, their opinion was readily felt and was often decisive.

Besides the classroom, the main meeting-place of staff and students on campus was the University Club. The consumption of alcohol was high amongst both groups, and male students were ardent supporters of the Club (indigenous female students rarely went there).

Generally members of the expatriate staff frequented the Club between 4.05 p.m. (official end to office hours) and 6.00 p.m., while students arrived at the Club between 5.30 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. and would stay until closing time.(25) This pattern is different from that which operated in the past, and it bespeaks the general social divorce between staff and students. Once the Club was opened in 1970, late in the pioneering period of the University's development, it became a place for staff to take their families and to socialize with the students. But because of frequent outbursts of violence amongst students, staff no longer took their families to the Club, and stayed for a restricted time themselves.

The social atmosphere at the Club steadily declined during the period of field research. For example, in the early part of 1975, a wife of an Indonesian lecturer provided ethnic meals on Friday evenings. A large number of the academic community visited the Club on these evenings, some with their families, and stayed for a longer period of time than was usual on other days. However, on one occasion a student who had had too much to drink, smashed his plate of food, abused the cook for what he thought was an exorbitant price, and then delivered a general oration against the expatriate staff.(26) After this event, meals were no longer provided during the evenings and staff members restricted their visiting hours to early evening. The Club was once the hub of social activity at the University, but by the end of 1975 its opening hours were restricted to a bare minimum. Violent outbursts amongst students were a regular occurrence and the Vice-Chancellor threatened to close it down.

The changing relations between staff and students, and between students and students at the University Club is a microcosm of the University community as a whole. The Club was founded with the firm belief that it should be a joint effort between staff and students, and the idea of a separate staff club was rejected. The Club embodied the philosophy that the social relations between all members of the University community was something to be encouraged and furthered. But because of the changing social context the ideal was defeated. The expatriate staff did little to change or police student action at the Club, even though they shared joint responsibility with students for its management. As the social climate at the Club deteriorated staff members merely withdrew as patrons.

During the pioneering period the unique background of PNG-trained students, the "white attitudes" of Australian-educated indigenous students, the high proportion of European part-time students, and the mere size of the organization, helped to maintain a degree of social cordiality between students and members of the academic staff. But by 1974, due to the changing relationship between student and staff, one member of staff was prompted to state in a public lecture entitled "The Rise and Fall of U.P.N.G." (Powell, 1975:115) that:

> There is never any publicly expressed criticism of student attitudes, values or activities and one never senses that the University feels that it has any responsibility in this sensitive but vitally important area...

> The moral vacuum that such a neutral stance creates gives cause for concern but when it extends to the scholarly and educational work of the University then the whole point of having a university disappears. Unfortunately, there is a good deal of evidence that this attitude does reach into this area.

Certainly, not all members of staff would agree with the above criticisms. But for all the University's moves towards inter-disciplinary studies, school structures, foundation years, curriculum change, re-organization of academic government, and so on, and the many committees, pieces of paper and manhours spent on these issues, the University has yet to come to terms with its indigenous student body. The University has attempted, though the process has been arduous and slow, to innovate in order to better fit the indigenous student to a western university education. But the pedagogical arguments of the expatriate academic community are, increasingly, being advanced in a vacuum. The indigenous student has yet to require such innovations, he needs only to mount the hurdles by which the system judges his progress.

Generally, members of the expatriate academic community represent to the present student the old colonial image. Independence further emphasized to students that they are to be the nation's future leaders. The expatriate academic reminds many students of the country's past dependence upon the European, and in one sense students are glad to see the expatriate depart both the University and the country. But in another sense, indigenous students feel as if they are being abandoned and that academic staff have no real long-term commitment to their future.

During the first period of consolidation, the expatriate academic community moved to a position of isolation. In the beginning members of the academic community were active participants in both endogenous and exogenous processes of change. But with the change in the basic environment, academics no longer contributed to national affairs or student affairs to the same degree as in the past. Rather, the expatriate community turned inward upon itself and compounded its isolation.

The position of students in PNG has also changed with the change in national circumstances. Their position vis-a-vis a national government is more difficult than it was with regard to the colonial Administration. In their political activity against the colonial government, they had the *active* support of academic staff. Also, students had little to fear in terms of political reprisals from the colonial Administration. Any attempt by Australia to clamp down on political activity at UPNG would have been severely criticized in PNG, Australia, and internationally. But students are in a much more ambiguous and delicate position with a national government.

Students have different worries today than they had a mere ten years ago. The first student body attacked the Australian government for colonial subjugation and was anxious about when their country would gain independence. The present students are worried about nepotism in appointments to positions of power, political corruption, and a fair deal for their respective home districts with regard to national development programmes. They are worried that certain ethnic groups will gain an inordinate amount of political power and that this will be to the detriment of other groups. In other words, students are concerned with national political issues relevant to a newly independent nation.

The University's first students were worried that their teachers would be second-rate Australian academics. There was concern that the colonial government would think that a mediocre university was all that was required in PNG. The first students would have felt "cheated" by an institution that deviated too drastically from the Australian model of higher education. They would have been alienated by teachers who were not of the highest quality and who were not recognized in the international academic community as authorities in their discipline. Some students now state that the University is creating a self-serving elite and that it has helped to destroy the egalitarian nature of the "Melanesian way".

The present student body is troubled by the rapid social change that is occurring in their country, and members of the expatriate academic staff have been unable to help students with their major concerns. On the other hand, students have tended to use their white lecturers, especially those of Australian nationality, as "scapegoats" for their own frustrations and worries. During the period of field research, I often heard students "romanticize" indigenous cultures and summarily reject all that was European. Some students were able to avoid facing up to the complexities, contradictions, and conflicts involved in the government of a highly diverse people in a newly independent nation by attributing all that was wrong or improper in PNG to Australian colonialism and the western institutions it introduced. When the academic did attempt to point out the less desirable aspects of "traditional" life, some of the positive achievements of certain western institutions in PNG and a few of the inevitable aspects of rapid social change in any society, he was often considered by students, as well as by some of his own colleagues, as a "colonial relic".

It is, of course, for the Papua New Guinean scholar, politician, and citizen to assess what were the positive and negative aspects of their indigenous cultures and of their colonial experiences. These same people must also assess how their current situation and present-day problems could have been improved, or at least made less difficult, if different policies and decisions had been made in the colonial past. Unfortunately, the isolation of the academic and student communities at UPNG has hindered rational and scholarly debate on these issues. Furthermore, the academic community has not forced students to divorce fact and logical argument from what seem to be merely rhetorical statements on the country's problems of underdevelopment.

Possibly, indigenous students are not concerned with what the expatriate academic has to say about their country's problems of "development" and social change; and before effective dialogue can be re-established between academic staff and students, more indigenous members of academic staff will have to be appointed. The experience elsewhere has shown, however, that the localization of academic positions in new universities does not, necessarily, make the institution more relevant to either indigenous students or the new nation. This is one of the topics to be discussed in Part V.

NOTES

1. "Teaching Methods in the University of Papua New Guinea", Report of Arts Sub-Committee, Professor Donald Denoon, Convenor, 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby. The Report contains a "P.N.G. Tertiary Studies Bibliography" with more than fifty-five citations which deal directly with teaching and learning problems of PNG students.
2. ibid.
3. The following letters to the editor of the *PNG Post-Courier* are reproduced in Weeks (1976:51-3).
4. Interview with UPNG staff member, February 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
5. Mr A.P. Power, "Role of a University During the Transition to Independence", Submission to the Arts Faculty, October 1971, Arts Faculty File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
6. Interview with UPNG staff member, June 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
7. Interview with UPNG student, March 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
8. Economics 2A Students to Economic Staff, Memorandum, 12 June 1975, Economics File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
9. Petition form UPNG students, 15 May 1974, Standing Committee of Academic Board File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
10. "Student Memorandum on University Policies on Overloads, Etc.", 11 August 1975, Faculty of Arts Standing Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
11. Dr J.T. Gunther, Memorandum to W.G. Buick, Librarian, 11 February 1969, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
12. Personal observation, 1975.
13. Personal observation, 1975.
14. The ineffectiveness of the security service is a complex problem. Members of the service are not highly trained, they have only a basic education and few of them speak English with any degree of fluency. Their level of education isolates them from staff and students, and I suspect they have some resentment and envy of the students' position. Moreover, ethnic ties and rivalries place them in a position of "damned if you do, damned if you don't". If they interfere with a group from their own village or clan, they are accused of being disloyal to their ethnic group, if they interfere with people outside their ethnic group, there is the possibility that they will become involved in a "payback".
15. For an article on the "Waigani Rascals" being involved in a campus rape see *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 23 April 1977.
16. However, in 1977 two male UPNG students were charged with the rape of a white female tutor.
17. Personal observation, 1975.
18. Personal observation, 1975.
19. Personal observation, 1975.
20. Personal observation, 1975.
21. The fight involved a group of Bougainvillean students. I was unable to learn the exact cause of the fight, but because of the separatist movement in their home province, Bougainvillean students were under considerable strain.
22. "Teaching Methods in the University of Papua New Guinea", Report of Arts Sub-Committee, Professor Donald Denoon, Convenor, 1975, Port Moresby.

23. Mr R. Noland, "Preliminary Report of the Communications Committee to the Faculty of Arts", 3 September 1974, Arts Faculty File, UPNG, Port Moresby.
24. President of Student Representative Council to the Vice-Chancellor, 14 March 1973, Arts Faculty File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
25. Personal observation, 1975.
26. Personal observation, 1975.

PART V

THE SECOND STAGE OF CONSOLIDATION

CHAPTER XIII

INTRODUCTION TO PART V

By the beginning of 1975, UPNG had invested over twelve million kina in developments of a capital nature. In addition to the main academic and administrative buildings, ten student halls of residence and 201 houses for married overseas and senior local staff had been built on the main campus, along with 56 units for single people. The institution had also acquired 83 houses and flats in other suburbs of Port Moresby.

The number of students at the University in 1975 was over 1,900 of whom approximately 1,500 were Papua New Guineans (including preliminary year and sub-graduate diploma students). The University took responsibility for 434 students at Goroka Teachers College. By the beginning of 1975 the University had graduated more than 350 students, 198 of whom were Papua New Guinean. But even more importantly, the base had now been firmly laid for an annual production of indigenous graduates in significant numbers.

By 1975 the University had established 202 teaching positions (167 on the main campus), with a staff/student ratio of 1:10.8. The payment of academic salaries in 1975 cost the University more than 2.7 million kina. (In 1975 one kina equalled one Australian dollar.) In addition, the University employed 569 non-teaching members of staff, 84 of whom were expatriates, at the main campus. The University employed 77 non-teaching members of staff at the Medical Faculty, of whom 10 were expatriates.

The University requested a grant of K9,506,000 from the government for its 1976 operations. The total figure requested consisted of K8,454,000 in recurrent funds and K1,022,000 in capital works funds.

Hence, in April 1975 the nation's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor took control of a large, expensive, and important institution. Indicative of the stabilization already achieved, the University's recurrent financial expenditure estimated for 1976 was more than eight times as great as capital expenditure. Nevertheless, the University will always remain an expensive institution for PNG. From now on, the major expenses which the University will incur will be as a result of the teaching programmes, and the number of staff and associated services required to effect them.

The second stage of consolidation is typified by the appointment of Dr Gabriel Gris as Vice-Chancellor and by the independence of PNG. It is a period in which Papua New Guineans commence to take control of the University. The Gris Report, which on the whole had little impact on the institution, marks a distinct change in terms of who is responsible for the development of UPNG.

The first period of consolidation raised many questions about the institution's future and the goals and aims to be achieved. Members of the academic community were not able to provide firm answers to these questions. In one sense, many members of the organization felt it was not their role to commit the institution to one direction or the other. Rather, the process has been left to Papua New Guineans to decide what is, and is not, important for the institution. The organization, however, has developed its own system of checks and balances, which are imposed on the decision-making process, and the alternatives available to present and future indigenous University leaders may be more apparent than real.

The field research was conducted at the beginning of what is termed the second stage of consolidation. It is likely that this period will continue for a number of years as localization of overseas staff proceeds and local control of the University becomes firmly entrenched. This paper can only offer a description of the transitory stage between the first and second period of consolidation.

The localization of expatriate staff positions will play a most important role in the University's future development. A substantial beginning has been made with regard to the localization of administrative positions. However, the process has not been entirely "painless" for the University and its members. Chapter XIV will deal with the process of localization on two levels: first, we will look at the special problems faced by the first Papua New Guinean Vice-Chancellor; and second, more general aspects of the localization process with emphasis upon the attitudes, values, and opinions of those involved, will be discussed.

CHAPTER XIV

NEW LEADERSHIP

LOCALIZATION OF THE POSITION OF VICE-CHANCELLOR

It has already been mentioned that the appointment of a Papua New Guinean to the position of Vice-Chancellor was well planned, and that Dr Gris, prior to assuming the office, was deeply involved in the University's affairs. Nevertheless, the new Vice-Chancellor was placed in a position of difficulty unequalled by either of his predecessors.

Though a small minority held a degree of racial prejudice against the appointment of an indigenous Vice-Chancellor, most members of the University community welcomed it. The institution was in need of strong leadership, especially on student matters, and it was hoped an indigenous officer could communicate more effectively with students. With the general demise of the institution's saga during the first period of consolidation, the academic community looked to Gris for firm guidance into the future.

All Papua New Guineans who assume the country's top echelon positions are under an inordinate amount of pressure to succeed. Because of the retarded development of education in the past, a national who assumes a high level position within the modern sector of PNG society will be one of the first of his countrymen to have ever held such a position. There were few Papua New Guineans who could have served as a model to Gris in his role as Vice-Chancellor, none in the area of academic administration at the top echelon level. He did not even have a single senior local academic from whom to seek advice and support. Part of the expectations placed on the new Vice-Chancellor was to define and restructure the basic goals and aims to be achieved by the institution in terms of local needs and requirements. However, he had to fulfill these expectations in an institution where not only most positions of authority were occupied by foreigners, but where the basic structure and model of the organization itself was based upon foreign principles.

Before his appointment as Chairman of the "Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries", Dr Gris served as a high-level public servant in the Department of Health. His profession was dentistry and he had received his training in Fiji and the United States. But he was not an academic and had had little experience with university administration. His lack of experience and knowledge on the day-to-day aspects of academic life was a handicap in his dealings with academic staff. Dr Gunther, who also was inexperienced with academic affairs, noted that he was not prepared as Vice-

Chancellor to argue issues with staff on purely academic criteria.(1) But while Gunther more or less accepted the norms and values of the academic community, Gris questioned their "relevance" to the PNG context.

The first major decision faced by the new Vice-Chancellor was with regard to the appointment of two Pro-Vice-Chancellors, a structure suggested by the selection committee which appointed Gris. The two positions were to be filled internally, with one position responsible for academic affairs and the other responsible for administrative matters.

There was internal opposition over the establishment of these positions, on two grounds. First, many members of the academic community were opposed to their creation because of the suggested paternalism in such a structure. Some academics thought it best for Gris to "go it alone", and that he did not need the assistance of expatriates to perform his duties. Second, and more importantly, there was suspicion and distrust of those who were likely to be nominated to the positions.

Gris interpreted the dialogue within the academic community concerning the Pro-Vice-Chancellors as factional infighting and to some extent, this was the case.(2) Groups formed, especially in the Arts Faculty, to propose their own nominations to the positions and a good deal of "backyard-politicking", as one staff member described it, took place. The Vice-Chancellor reported to the sub-committee in April 1975 that he would prefer a decision on appointments to be postponed. The issue would have been of little consequence if it were not for later events, which we will turn to in a moment.

The philosophy Gris held towards the role of higher education in PNG was different from that of his predecessors. In contrast to Professor Inglis, Gris was not steeped in a basic western academic tradition and experience. In contrast to Dr Gunther's attitudes towards the institution, he was not strongly supportive of the University vis-a-vis government policies aimed at controlling its development. Gris adhered to the general philosophy of the Somare government and, of course, as the Chairman of the Gris Committee, he believed in bringing the development of the institution into line with that of the nation as a whole. The new Vice-Chancellor believed the University should first and foremost serve national aims. Asked in an interview on the relationship between University goals and national needs, Gris stated that:(3)

> The University's first and foremost responsibility is to national needs. This surpasses any need for it to conform to international standards. Those standards are a Western, Commonwealth standard anyway: standards which are not appropriate to PNG. The organization has value only in its fulfillment of national needs.

Gris questioned the past achievements of the University, believing such achievements were more applicable to the Australian model upon which the institution was founded, than relevant to the Melanesian environment. Basically, he mistrusted the University community in terms of the human social organization it embodied; that is, an organization based upon academic freedom, individual fulfilment and autonomy, competition, and material consumption. Rather, he believed the University should be more open to the community and more communalistic. It should embody an organization where spiritual matters are placed over material ones, where co-operation is placed over competition, and where the rights of the group are more important than those of the individual. The University should embody the "Melanesian way" and sever its links with the western model.(4) Gris was the human personification of the alternative philosophy. Moreover, it rested with him — in special reference to the Gris Report — to "practise" what was being "preached". This proved to be a difficult task indeed.

The most practical path to a change in the institution's orientation was for the Gris Report to be implemented. The Report contained three major recommendations: one, the unification of UPNG with the University of Technology to form one "national university" (a reversion to the policy of the Currie Commission); two, the University should be more involved with extension studies and other such programmes; and three, the combination of study with work. The third recommendation involved what was termed a "modular approach" to degree study. Students would study for a two-year diploma in their first module, then join the workforce. Only after working for a certain length of time would students then be allowed another two years of study for a degree or higher diploma.

If the recommendation for one national university had been accepted by government and its Cabinet (the proposal was endorsed by the UPNG Council), then the stage would have been set for a full implementation of the Report. But, as previously mentioned, re-orientating the University was not a high priority of government, and the proposal was rejected primarily on financial grounds (though the government did appoint the Director of Education as Chancellor of both universities). Members of the Committee of Enquiry themselves recognized some of the costs involved in this recommendation, but believed the cost would be offset by the benefit of controlling and rationalizing the development of higher education in all of PNG.

The recommendation for extension and external studies and the outreach programme was acceptable to all concerned. It fitted nicely into the government's Eight Aims and members of the University had given thought to development in this direction for a number of years. Of course, funding these activities was another matter.

The modular approach was not readily acceptable to the academic community. The idea in itself was not a contentious issue. Most members of the academic community recognized the value of providing students with a more extensive experience of the community outside the University. Also, many thought a period of work would help students to develop a more mature outlook to their studies. But it was generally felt that such experience should be in the form of national service before students commenced University study. The idea of a two-year diploma was not acceptable to many members of both the University and the Office of Higher Education. It was feared that a break in the middle of a student's career would be educationally detrimental, and that a two-year diploma scheme would distort manpower planning.(5) The debate over the modular approach continued throughout the period of field study.

The real essence of the Gris Report lay below the level of its "main recommendations". The Report hoped to change the very aims and philosophy of the institution. The main recommendations were mere enactments of a change in direction. It was the spirit of the document which implied a real change in the University's character; a spirit which Gris hoped to promote amongst the academic community.

Gris faced his first crisis with the June 1975 student strike. The strike placed the Vice-Chancellor in an awkward position. Gris was sandwiched between the students and government with little option for delegating responsibility. While he could not alienate students and risk the possibility of conflict between them and the University, the Vice-Chancellor, and thus the institution, could not appear as sanctioning student action. Gris bore the full brunt of the negative opinions which students had brought upon themselves from the outside community, with the Chief Minister himself telephoning to complain about the demonstration. Gris had expressed privately, and in the Gris Report, certain opinions of students. He feared students were becoming elitist, that they lived in comparative luxury, and were alienated from the general mass of their countrymen. Though the strike seemed to confirm such fears, there was little direct action which Gris could have taken against students.

The pressure was immense, with both endogenous and exogenous forces culminating in the Vice-Chancellor's office. The pressure on Gris was more intense and of a different nature than that placed upon expatriate administrators during the 1974 strike;(6) being a Papua New Guinean meant that government could speak more directly to him.

The Vice-Chancellor broke under the pressure, and addressed a letter of resignation to the President of the SRC and to the Chancellor. This action was circumvented by the Secretary who imposed some reason upon what was a very tense situation. The letters of resignation were intercepted and the crisis situation abated. However, some damage had already been done.

Though there was a move to keep the Vice-Chancellor's attempted resignation quiet, the news soon leaked out. The academic community did not rush to the aid of their chief executive; rather, a feeling of "I told you so" was expressed. Gris lost some credibility amongst academics, and what commenced as a difficult position for the University's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor, was now compounded.

Following the crisis of the student strike, the question of the appointments of Pro-Vice-Chancellors was re-opened. The Secretary, who had always been a strong supporter of the positions, believed the crisis could have been avoided if Pro-Vice-Chancellors had been present. The existing structure allowed the concentration of forces and pressures to be placed upon one man. The Secretary believed that Gris' position would have been less difficult if only he could have shared his responsibilities with others. But what is more significant is that the previous arguments against the appointment of Pro-Vice-Chancellors were now no longer applicable. It was accepted that Gris might actually need support (though it was not until 1976 that appointments were actually made).

The presence of Pro-Vice-Chancellors may have helped to dissipate the pressure placed upon the Vice-Chancellor during the strike. It is doubtful however, that such a structure would have aided Gris in his attempt to re-direct the goals of the institution. Gris needed to obtain support for his schemes from the base of the structure, from the nucleus of power, that is, from the faculty and academic departments. Placed at the top of the structure it was most difficult for Gris to initiate discussion at the base. The presence of Pro-Vice-Chancellors would serve only to elevate to a further apex the position of Vice-Chancellor.

At first glance, it would seem that the Vice-Chancellor would be in an opportune position to instigate academic change and reform (see Figure IV, Chapter XI). He is ex officio chairman of key academic committees, including the highest academic decision-making body, the Academic Board. But the Academic Board, as already noted, sanctions policy decisions made elsewhere in the structure, and it rarely sponsors and initiates its own decisions. On the other hand, the Academic Developments Committee, a sub-committee of the Board, does serve as an academic policy-making body. The Vice-Chancellor is Chairman of this Committee, though Gris often asked others to occupy the Chair. To understand Gris' predicament, we must return briefly to the political nature of the internal structure, for it was within the committee setting that Gris had his main interaction with members of the academic community.

The importance of the Academic Developments Committee is a consequence of the change in academic government at UPNG (described in Chapter XI). The Committee is one of the more important committees that has developed to fill the void in decision-making which has been created at the top of the structure. The Committee consists primarily of the elected Chairmen of Faculty Planning Committees, and these members, to a large extent, act as departmental and faculty representatives. Nevertheless, the Committee is charged with making decisions on basic policies which affect the entire academic community. A brief description of a practical situation may help to illustrate the problem.

In early 1975 the University commenced its annual "battle" over staff allocations for 1976. The number of government-funded teaching positions on the main campus was to be held at the 1975 level; thus, with regard to the number of staff to be shared amongst the departments, a "zero-sums game" operated. It was the task of the Academic Developments Committee to allocate a number of teaching positions to each faculty.

In 1975, for the first time, staff was allocated by faculty rather than by department. This makes our description somewhat less difficult, for at the level of Academic Developments, each faculty saw itself as a whole unit in competition with the others; the departments battle amongst themselves once an allocation is made to the faculty.

On the surface, the allocation of staff is a straightforward technical operation. Staff are allocated according to the balance between the number of "Effective Full-time Student Enrolments" (EFTS) projected for each department, and the University's overall staff/student ratio. But in actuality this is only the starting point for discussion. The situation is compounded by the number of staff members on study leave. Each faculty and department has a number of "specially justified positions" which fall outside EFTS-type calculations. The Dean of each faculty addressed the Committee, acknowledged the number of staff which could be justified through EFTS, and then commenced to argue the "hard facts of staff conditions in the actual teaching situation". Each Dean stated, more or less, that "with the best will in the world, we cannot work with less staff actually teaching, regardless of the EFTS allocations".(7)

Faculties submitted a plea for more staff based on: the new developments they planned for the future, the "special circumstances" they faced, the relevance of their courses to the nation, and on the "privileged" or "luxurious" staff levels existing in other faculties and departments. A set number of staff was allocated to each faculty, then each faculty would contest the figures, and a re-allocation would be made. As was common with most universal issues at UPNG, the basic cleavage which developed was between arts and science.

The Faculty of Science saw itself as the worse off in regard to staff allocation. A number of papers were written on the subject by the science staff and their allies, the medical staff. The science staff based their justification for increased staffing on the trend of increased student enrolment, a trend reinforced by official manpower projections, and their greater commitment to teaching in terms of high contact hours and time spent in preparation. The Science Faculty felt that their courses were more difficult than those in arts, and the task they faced more arduous because of poor pre-university preparation of science students.

Science staff also felt that undue power and privilege was afforded to the Faculty of Arts, and that the Faculty was favoured by certain administrators. One science staff member wrote that:(8)

> [The problem] arises from a real lack of understanding in some sectors of this University, including the central administration, of the nature of science teaching in Papua New Guinea and the problems peculiar to it. This is in my view at least partly due to the fundamentally arts-oriented background of such people, the average administrator not excepted.

Arts staff expressed the attitude that the scientist placed too much emphasis on facts, and alternative methods of teaching were not explored. Many of the scientists regarded it essential for students to have certain basic facts in order for them to participate in western science. However, those on the other side of the issue were quick to point out that the teaching methods employed by science staff concentrated on the parochial, where facts were drilled into "fuzzy heads", as one of the above accused arts-oriented administrators put it.

Thus went the debate, with memos exchanged, accusations made, graphs drawn, and detailed problems of each faculty and department advanced, and so on. The Academic Developments Committee did not create the contentions over staff numbers, but neither did it help to alleviate the conflict. The members of the Committee reflected in their debate the overall University debate. Members, for the most part, represented the point of view and interest of their respective faculties. Members were not able to transcend their faculty and departmental loyalties in their attempt to plan and rationalize the institution's development at the intra-faculty level.

The Academic Developments Committee, as the title might suggest, was charged with the task of developing and rationalizing the University's academic development. But the energy of its members was spent more on attempting to balance the demands and interests which arose from elsewhere in the structure, than planning rationally for the future.

The Vice-Chancellor was very much concerned over the allocation of staff. He believed the University should not grow any larger, that it was already a very expensive institution for a new nation, and much of the expense was a result of the salaries earned by teaching staff. He also believed staff should be more flexible in their subject orientations, and course development should respond in the direction of most need. While government could hold staffing levels steady, it was up to Gris to convince academics to demonstrate more goodwill and co-operation amongst themselves. But group conflict has its own system of balance and inertia. Though as issues change the factions in conflict change, the fact remains that members of the community maintain, overall, a balance in their relationships with each other.

Though Gris had his main association and interaction with academics in the setting of high-level committees, the real decisions were not made in such committees per se. Committee members were unable to disassociate themselves from either the factions within the University which they represented or from where their own primary interests rested. The Academic Developments Committee, as one example, served to balance and rationalize existing demands from groups within the wider University community, rather than initiate new directions.

Another fundamental problem faced by Gris was that he hoped to sponsor change in what is, after all, a fundamentally conservative institution. All universities, even those of a young age, demonstrate inertia in terms of their basic goals and aims. Below the surface of what is often termed radical rhetoric by the lay community and popular press, academics are quite conservative individuals when faced with fundamental change in their professional way of life. Halsey and Trow (1971:465), in their extensive study of the values and attitudes held by British academics on the expansion of the British system of higher education, conclude that:

> What we have found is a profession differing within itself on many specific issues, but largely agreed on the rightness of the British university as it now exists, and rather cautiously committed...to the defence of that institution against the pressure and incalculable changes of the future.

Throughout the field study I observed academics time and again complain and demand reform. But when faced with concrete proposals that were of an innovative nature, they would as often as not opt for the retention of the status quo. Education is itself based upon past experience and precedence. UPNG faced special problems in this regard. Already some members felt that the institution had been too far removed from the general collegium of the "international university brotherhood".

The new Vice-Chancellor was not able to provide the institution with strong leadership nor was he able to effect a change in its orientation. The major barriers which he faced were the processes and interactions within the very institution he hoped to change. By the end of the field study, some of the more conservative members of the University community were calling for the return of a strong, expatriate Vice-Chancellor.(9) But the major problem faced by Gris was not his personal strength nor his nationality. Given a more restricted decision-making network and a viable group of indigenous leaders (or at least a group who were of like mind) within the organization from whom he could have sought support, his ability to perform the duties of Vice-Chancellor, and to fulfill the expectations applied to his role, could have been much improved.

The experience at UPNG supports one of the basic conclusions drawn by Baldridge (1971a:200) through his research at the New York University:

> In emphasizing the importance of conflict it is necessary to reject one of the most commonly held myths about organizational strife. This is the 'communications fallacy', which in effect argues that conflict and strife in an organization are due primarily to misunderstandings and communications breakdowns.

The expansion of the communication process at UPNG furthered conflict amongst groups, it did not reduce or eliminate it. Gris was not hindered in communicating his desires to the University community, though the initiation of support was another matter. Groups and their representatives on committees were fully aware of the circumstances. In terms of staffing, each group realized that they were in competition for a set resource. No extent of explanation of why the staff level was held constant, or the justification of the policy, would have reduced the conflict or given the faculties more staff.

Merely extending lines of communication and participation to a wider number of organizational members does not serve to defuse issues or sponsor consensus. Moodie and Eustace (1974:223) in their discussion on the role of consensual democracy in British universities note that "all too easily a preoccupation with consensus can create a system which approximates to one of *liberum veto*, where any organized minority operates as a veto-group rather than an autonomous centre of creativity..." To a large extent it was just this type of situation which confronted UPNG's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor.

Furthermore, conflict amongst the groups of a community is one way of resisting fundamental change. If opposition amongst the groups of a community is continual, then it becomes most difficult to channel the community as a whole in a new direction. Conflict, in this sense, serves to protect and preserve the interests of the entire community, and is itself a conservative process.

Van den Berghe (1973:267) notes that academic change at Ibadan University was "agonizingly slow" because departmental autonomy was minimal. The present thesis argues the opposite. It is tempting to relate the difference in empirical observation between the two communities to the "pluralism versus power elite" debates on organizational structure; however, I do not believe that this is the situation. The two communities under observation are not entirely comparable in either structure or character. Van den Berghe described a community in which status was a most important variable, and in which decision-making was concentrated amongst senior academics at the Senate level. In the UPNG community, status, power, and privilege are not as closely linked. While the professors at Ibadan served as a conservative force and fought to preserve the status quo at the Senate level, many members of the UPNG academic community do the same, but at the department and faculty level. Members of both communities act, at least partially, according to the power distribution inherent in the respective structures. But, and this is the crucial point, a hierarchical bureaucratic structure is certainly not the primary source of conflict in all universities.

Van den Berghe (p. 267) also notes that "one significant conclusion from our study...is that conflict does not necessarily generate basic structural change". One significant conclusion from the study of UPNG is that while conflict *may* generate structural change, the structural change *does not* necessarily lessen or alter the basic conflicts. It seems that a change in the pattern of people's interrelationships has little meaning without a corresponding change in their basic values, attitudes, and interests; and it cannot be assumed that the latter "type" of change will automatically follow the former.

The social and political leaders of PNG have not, as of yet, defined the main goals and aims of their own society, nor the means by which to achieve them. They want change, but are unsure in what direction to proceed. In this sense, the debate and lack of direction within the University is merely a reflection of the situation in the larger social setting.

There is, of course, much discussion in PNG on how to alter the structure of western institutions to make them more relevant to social needs. Part of this discussion centres on the argument that western institutions introduce a hierarchical structure that runs counter to "Melanesian egalitarianism". Of course, those who speak of "Melanesian egalitarianism" and the "Melanesian way" are really talking about what ought to be the future political and social organization of their society, not about what actually existed in the past. But if our study of UPNG is applicable to the wider social setting, then it can be suggested that changing western structures so that they are less hierarchical and more egalitarian, is no guarantee that the institutions will be any more "relevant" to the local environment; and this "type" of change is not, by itself, a sufficient prerequisite for further adaptations.

LOCALIZATION IN GENERAL

The problems that beset Gris as the University's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor are only casually indicative of the problems of localization in general. Gris not only hoped to fulfill the role of Vice-Chancellor in the narrow sense of specific duties, but he also hoped to provide the impetus for change. It is below the position of Vice-Chancellor where localization has had its most significant impact upon the University in terms of the process per se.

From its beginning, the University's official policy has been to appoint Papua New Guineans to any vacancy for which they are qualified. The University also operates a variety of schemes which encourage local officers to obtain more training and better qualifications. The University allows time off for indigenous employees to pursue academic, professional, or vocational training, and many of the training schemes it operates pay course fees, travel, and other appropriate costs.

Strictly speaking, it would seem that the localization policy would be in conflict with the universalistic norm of non-discrimination in appointment to office. However, this is not the case, and in reality the two norms operate side by side. The non-discrimination clause in the statutes applies to expatriate officers, while a qualified Papua New Guinean, if available, is always appointed regardless of the race or nationality of other applicants. While some expatriate members of the University (especially some administrative and technical officers) may resent being phased out by Papua New Guinean officers, and in some cases this resentment has clear racial overtones, members do not claim discrimination. An accusation of discrimination on this level would carry little impact, and would discredit the accuser.

The more junior positions at the University have always been localized, for example, the gardeners, cleaners, and other labourers. For the most part, the University also provides housing for its labourers as well as for many of the expatriate staff's domestic servants.

There has been some internal criticism of the University's manual workforce. Basically, there are those who believe that a service such as cleaning, should be contracted out and the University should disassociate itself from running a "total community". Such arguments are based on the extreme inefficiency and expense of the University employing and housing its own labour force. But the majority of the attempts to change the situation have been unsuccessful. For example, in the latter part of 1975 the Secretary put up a proposal that the cleaners, about seventy in number, should no longer be directly employed by the University, and the service itself should be contracted out to a local firm in Port Moresby. The University's business manager believed such a move would save the University about ten thousand kina per annum.

Naturally enough, the cleaners reacted strongly to such a proposal. Though under such a new arrangement some staff would have been retained, the majority were apprehensive at the prospect of losing their jobs, and many of the New Guinean employees feared they would be replaced by Papuans. The cleaners mounted a very effective, well-organized, and controlled strike. The strike was also very well timed — just a few days before a graduation ceremony which they had the responsibility for setting up. The local section of the non-academic Staff Association supported the cleaners, stating that the University was responsible for any inefficiency in service by not providing adequate training. The Staff Association also stated that the work done by the cleaners was compounded by student vandalism and littering about the campus. The strike was successful, and the proposal dismissed.

The University has always recognized its responsibility with regard to the indigenization of staff. In 1970 the University engaged a firm of management consultants to advise on administrative procedures and training programmes in this area. As a result, a Localization Officer responsible to the Secretary was appointed to co-ordinate and implement programmes. Localization was further enshrined in the structure through the proliferation of committees. Between 1973 and 1975 the Vice-Chancellor established seven distinct committees which dealt directly with the problem of localization. If nothing else, these activities have been well-administered.

It has always been recognized that the localization of administrative and technical officers would proceed at a faster rate than the localization of academic positions (the situation is clearly depicted in Table VII). The Working Party on University Development recommended "the rapid development of a body of Papua New Guinean academics large enough to have a forceful role in policy, teaching, and staff-student relations within the university" (p. 32). The Working Party also recognized that only the top five to ten per cent of graduates would be appropriate for academic positions. Restrict this number again by those who proceed to postgraduate qualifications, and it becomes obvious that only a handful of indigenous graduates will be available for employment as academics.

The requirement of local staff for academic positions has been further aggravated by the overwhelming need for well-qualified manpower in the public service and other sectors of the society. In addition, those qualified to occupy academic positions are often attracted to the public service where both salary and rate of promotion are much better than at the University. For example, the University's first Papua New Guinean academic took up his appointment in January 1973. He was amongst the University's first group of graduates, and had received postgraduate qualifications overseas. In 1974 he was on secondment to the PNG government as Principal Private Secretary to the Chief Minister. The University has lost many of its indigenous staff members through similar circumstances.

As the demand for well-qualified graduates in the community outside the University diminishes, the prospect for the recruitment of Papua New Guineans to academic positions will improve. Nevertheless, it will be several years before the academic community will have a significant number of indigenous members. The localization of academic staff is not, for practical reasons, a high priority of the government. Indigenous graduate manpower is more urgently required in other sectors of the society.

The student who shows an interest in an academic career is given the "red carpet treatment" by the University. The University operates a teaching fellowship programme whereby selected graduates are

TABLE VII

UPNG Full-Time Staff Positions by Nationality
(excluding Goroka Teachers College), 1975*

CATEGORY	PNG Staff	Expatriate Staff	Total Staff	% PNG Staff
Teaching Staff	4	198	202	2.0
Academic Services**	228	60	288	77.2
Administrative≠	132	30	162	81.5
Maintenance	192	4	196	98.0
Grand Total:	556	292	848	65.6

Source:
UPNG Submission for Funds 1976-1977, pp.27-34.

* Government Funded positions including Medical Faculty.

** Including Research, Technical, and Clerical/Secretarial.

≠ Including Central Administration and Clerical/Secretarial.

sponsored for postgraduate study at overseas institutions. In most cases, the fellowships provide the students with airfares, fees, and living expenses. In addition, some senior undergraduates are given the opportunity to teach tutorials on a part-time basis. The University is attempting to provide to those students interested in an academic career, the opportunity to gain the qualifications and experience they require. But by the end of 1975 only two per cent of the full-time teaching establishment was of Papua New Guinean nationality.

It has been amongst the administrative, technical, and service staff where localization has had its greatest impact. Though the University has made significant gains in localizing these positions, the gains have not been without their adverse effect.

The positions most easily localized at UPNG are now filled by Papua New Guineans, that is, positions such as secretaries, stenographers, low-grade clerks, and others not requiring extensive training and education. The real push has been not only to localize junior positions, but to place Papua New Guineans as heads of the appropriate services. It is here that the main conflict has occurred.

The main review of positions to be localized was conducted by the "Non-Academic Staff Committee" and the "Staff Development Committee", the latter of which was the policy-forming body. Throughout 1975 both Committees conducted an extensive review of all non-academic positions which had not been localized. Heads of the

University's non-academic branches, such as the Librarian, Chief Technicians, and Stores and Transport Manager, were interviewed by the Staff Development Committee on the degree of localization they had achieved in their departments.

In some of these interviews the Committee, which consisted of academics, local officers, and senior expatriate administrators, took a rather aggressive stance. The expatriates on the Committee were generally the more aggressive towards the localization policies and achievements of those being interviewed. The Committee's stance helped to further reduce the already diminishing confidence of some expatriate members in the institution.

For example, the Planning Officer, a member of the Committee, admonished the Librarian for not placing Papua New Guineans in the more senior positions. The Librarian's defence was typical of that heard throughout the University, namely, there was not enough time to perform the duties of one's own position, and at the same time train a national to take over that position. Because of the high turnover rate in expatriate staff in recent years, a great deal of effort had to be expended to familiarize and train new expatriate staff; this reduced the time which could have been devoted to training Papua New Guineans. The more senior positions in the library required graduate qualifications — qualifications indigenes had yet to acquire. Many of the local staff had only a Form IV education or less, they were not responsible in their positions, came to work late or not at all, and showed little prospect for advancement. But still, they wished to advance as quickly as possible.

The counter-argument advanced by the Committee was that often the expatriate was not willing, by training a local to take over the position, to work himself out of a job. Some members of the Committee felt that many of the expatriate staff present at the University were "dead wood" and the institution would be better off without them. There was too much emphasis on formal qualifications, and such qualifications were applicable to a highly competitive western society but not to PNG. Some members of the Committee also felt that the problem of local officers not being responsible in their positions was caused by the attitudes of their expatriate supervisors.

Such debates caused a great deal of ill-feeling amongst the non-academic expatriate staff. In some circumstances the Committee was correct and localization in certain areas could have proceeded at a faster rate. But members of the Committee were often incompetent to comment on the idiosyncratic problems faced by certain other non-academic sections of the University. In the case of the Librarian, no Committee member was competent to comment on the library's structure and organization, nor did the Committee attempt to understand the problems of the library as they had occurred over a period of time. Members of the Committee, especially the expatriates present, were more prone to criticize the Librarian for what seemed to be a poor record of localization than to offer help.

In terms of localization, the non-academic overseas officer is in a more difficult position than is his academic counterpart. Firstly, it is obvious that localization in this area will proceed more rapidly. But more importantly, the non-academic staff member, excluding the top echelon in the University's Central Administration, has little say in the overall decision-making process. While the University's authority structure is a democratic one with regard to academic affairs, it is more hierarchical in terms of non-academic considerations. Each service department, such as Building and Grounds, Stores and Transport, Gardens, and so on, does have an element of autonomy. But these branches of the University are dependent on decisions made higher up in the structure and in most cases, their *raison d'être* is to serve the academic community. The Librarian (though strictly speaking, he is a member of the academic staff both by profession and membership of the Academic Board and faculties) was not involved in the overall University decision-making process. The Staff Development Committee was centred at the top of the structure, and many of the non-academic members of staff viewed it as a "board of inquisition".

Localization as a process was officially and publicly sanctioned by all expatriate members of the University community, except possibly for a conservative and racist minority. The problem arose over the manner in which the programme was displayed, and over some expatriates being too zealous in phasing out other expatriates. The expatriate officer has not received the support or understanding from the University community which may have helped in making his replacement somewhat less painful. The situation has been deteriorating for some time, as the following memorandum from the Staff Officer, written in July 1974, indicates:(10)

> I consider that morale among expatriate staff of the University is at its lowest since I took up an appointment some 20 months ago, and is declining rapidly... If the University hopes to retain such staff it should immediately make a policy statement to this effect, indicating as accurately as possible the proposed period(s) of retention and allaying fears of deterioration in the conditions of service which apply to such appointees in the future.

The morale of non-academic expatriate staff had not improved by the end of the field study.

However, the process of localization places the greatest strain upon the Papua New Guinean incumbent, with the disillusionment of the expatriate officer as a contributing factor. The national who occupies a position of importance and responsibility in the institution is faced with a variety of pressures. The Papua New Guinean who demonstrates ability is pushed forward in the organization with great haste, often before he personally feels ready to take on the duties of a high-level position. On the one hand, he is forced to interact with expatriate officers who have much more experience and higher formal qualifications than he. While the expatriate officer may feel resentment at the accelerated mobility of the national, the local officer often feels somewhat intimidated by the European's experience and ability. On the other hand, the local officer is placed in a position where he is in charge of other Papua New Guineans. If those nationals for whom he is responsible are of his *wantok* group, he may feel uncomfortable giving them orders and being placed in a position which may alienate him from what are his closest social and familial ties. The local officer in charge of nationals outside his ethnic group may be, because of ethnic rivalries, ineffective in his administrative role.

As localization has progressed, many members of the University community have remarked on the increasing inefficiency of the institution. Some remarks have clear racial overtones: "the black man just can't do the job". Those who see it in racial terms take a sadistic pleasure when the local clearly fails in his role: "I told you he could not do it in the first place". But the reality of the situation is much more complex. It is unlikely that the expatriate officers, except for a small minority, would have ever experienced either the role pressures or demands placed upon the Papua New Guinean. Though efficiency in some technical aspects may have suffered through localization, the sole cause is not the lack of ability of national officers. The demands are great, and for such demands the local officer sees that he earns only half the salary received by the expatriate for doing similar work.

The most common reaction to unbearable pressure is for the Papua New Guinean to withdraw from the situation. Many manhours are lost to the University simply by local officers not arriving for work. Some local officers have left the institution, either for jobs elsewhere or to return to a less competitive situation in their home village. But by and large, the local officer has been most successful in his positions, so much so that the University finds its most competent local administrators are often stolen by other employment sectors of the society.

Some members of UPNG who have sought change in the character of the institution and in the basic goals to be achieved, have placed great faith in the process of localization. It is felt by some that once the University is run internally by Papua New Guineans it will automatically become relevant to the needs and requirements of the host-society. However, there is evidence from other countries to suggest that localization per se does not necessarily make institutions more relevant to the context of a newly independent nation; in fact, localization may have the opposite effect. The evidence indicates that an indigenous intelligentsia can become reactionary in resisting adaptation, and may block any attempt to deviate from the foreign model of higher education which its members experienced themselves (see Ashby, 1966:xi; van den Berghe, 1973:264-65; Jolly, 1971; and Leys, 1971).

The majority of Papua New Guineans who have gone into the University's central administration have been past students and graduates. On the whole, they are protective of the institution and hold to the idea that the University needs to retain its standing internationally. In interviews and elsewhere the indigenous graduates voiced the opinion that while the University should fulfill the needs of the nation, in so doing it should not forsake either standards or its overseas image. One local officer who was a student at UPNG during the pioneering period, spoke of his fondness for Professor Inglis while he was the Professor of History. He felt that, on becoming Vice-Chancellor, Inglis became less accessible to students and less critical of their behaviour. This particular administrator thought that the Vice-Chancellor was too ready to appease student opinion, too uncritical of government, and not protective enough of the University against political demands.(11)

In another interview a local administrator spoke of the different standards expatriate and locals applied to the judgement of a national officer's performance of duty. While the expatriate is less critical of negligence in the performance of indigenous employees, and is more likely to offer a light reprimand and give the individual another chance, "the national", according to the administrator, "wants to cut their throats right away". He went on to say that expatriates use the phrase "there is a lot of time in New Guinea" to mean that locals do not conform to western time patterns. Many of the local staff come and go when they wish (he was referring mostly to those occupying manual or clerical positions). He felt this pattern developed in the village where a person "sleeps when he wants to, and works when he feels like it". He went on to state that "locals need to learn the concept that time is money, that as we move into the western way of doing things we must learn the patterns and responsibilities of that culture".(12)

Another local officer, who was to become Academic Registrar in 1976, felt that any prospective candidate to become the University's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor should have "on-the-job training and experience in which he should be coached in the methodology and problems of administration in UPNG and the relationship of the University with the rest of society".(13) He also wished for the out-going expatriate Vice-Chancellor to remain as the "chief advisor" to the indigenous Vice-Chancellor.

Yet another local officer stated with regard to localization in general that:(14)

> The University *must not* localise administrative positions merely for political expediency, rather we must try to maintain some value standard at all levels especially so at the senior level, in our endeavour to localise administrative positions in the University.

Miss Josephine Abijah (a political activist supporting a Papuan separatist movement), member of the House of Assembly and former member of the University Council, criticized the pace of academic localization at the University in the House. In reply to Miss Abaijah's comments, a graduate representative of the University Council wrote the following comments:(15)

> The aim of the University in its localisation plan must not be to endeavour to localise for the sake of localisation or to appoint nationals with inadequate academic training or experience to be 'political actors' of the University for the country. University authorities must make sure that national appointees must have suitable talents as well as real interest in the development of knowledge...
>
> The aim of a properly localised university must be to produce graduates of a calibre to take their place with pride, not only in the country, but also anywhere in the world, and not to have an all national enterprise immediately at the price of cutting the development of the University now.

On the whole, graduates view the University with pride and feel protective towards its standard and quality. Furthermore, many of the University's graduates who assume positions of power within the organization will have gained postgraduate qualifications overseas. This provides the well-educated Papua New Guinean extensive experience with a western system of higher education, and helps to reinforce in the individual some of the assumptions on which the system rests. There is nothing harmful in graduates having an interest in the University's standard and quality, and something would be extremely wrong if they were totally disinterested. The attitudes expressed by UPNG graduates and indigenous employees do not, in themselves, indicate any future inflexibility with regard to the institution's adaptation. What they do indicate is that localization, as a process, will not make UPNG any more or less relevant to the economic and social needs of PNG society.

CHANGE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

There is no reason to believe that Papua New Guineans will have any less difficulty in dealing with the forces of change than would any other group of people; and possibly, there are factors which may make their task even more difficult. It has been suggested that the absence of "primitive states" in the indigenous cultures of PNG expedited the introduction of western institutions. Furthermore, because certain social features inherent in the newly introduced institutions — namely "class" and extensive systems of social stratification — do not have parallel forms in the indigenous cultures, the structure of the new institutions may be more malleable in PNG than would be the case for a country with an extensive tradition of "class" and social hierarchy. A significant barrier to *effective* change in PNG may not be the rigidity of foreign social structures, but their very fluidity. Because structures can be changed without exciting an inordinate amount of public opposition, efforts at change may be unduly concentrated on structural alterations, which may result in a neglect of the problems associated with people's values, norms, and past experiences. People may expect that a change in values will result from a change in the pattern of their interrelationships; but the evidence collected at UPNG does not support such an assumption. Structural alteration does not necessarily alleviate conflict — it may exacerbate conflict. Structural alteration does not immediately achieve its purpose and it is not clear that one alteration, rather than another, will facilitate the desire to create altered social conditions however beneficial the goal may be in the minds of the proponents.

This research commenced by rejecting the naive view that structure is merely the static framework of a society or community. Rather, in opposition to the "structure-function" approach to social analysis, it was suggested that the structure itself serves as an important source for conflict and change. Clearly, the data collected from UPNG supports the proposition that social structure is a dynamic force. But when the attempt was made to apply specific theories of structural change and conflict to the UPNG community, problems arose. The theory that a hierarchical structure serves as a universal mechanism for conflict needs to be questioned in light of the UPNG experience. The theory that structural equalization of status and authority alleviates conflict is also thrown into doubt by the data collected at UPNG.

Two important points stand out from the UPNG experience. First, structural change needs to be as complete as possible if the goal for which the alterations are intended, is to be achieved. The democratization of the UPNG decision-making process was only a partial achievement for those who hoped to alter radically the institution's structure. The change in academic government and the introduction of an Arts Foundation Year left the basic faculty/ departmental pattern unscathed. Official statutes were not immediately changed with the establishment of the Academic Board. Rather, the authors of change wished to wait for additional alterations before undertaking the arduous task of re-writing statutes. This left some ambiguity as to the legitimacy of the partial alterations which were achieved. The mixture of new structures with old patterns set in motion a conflict between past traditions and possible future change which served to immobilize the change process itself. Structural change, once set in motion, is not one-directional and self-sustaining.

Second, and probably even more important than the above, is the fact that members of UPNG were not totally trapped in their own structural webs — at least not trapped to the degree which most sociologists would predict. Past conceptualizations of structural dynamics just do not fit the UPNG situation. And they do not fit, I believe, because past theories have placed emphasis on "process" and "dynamics" to the point where the element of individuality has been lost. The history and development of UPNG is not only a product of dynamic sociological processes but of specific dynamic individuals.

A basic frame of reference for the discipline of sociology is that man is a product of the roles which he plays (see G.H. Mead, 1929; and the many works of Talcott Parsons). Role theory has been defined and manipulated in various ways. For example, once sociologists realized that one individual could perform a number of conflicting roles, they formulated the concept of "role compartmentalization" (Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958; and Goode, 1960) and "role recalcitrance" (Selznick, 1948; 1949). But what has been ignored continually is the fact that roles not only shape the behaviour of individuals, but individuals — specific persons with specific backgrounds and personalities — shape and manipulate their bureaucratic roles in terms of their own idiosyncratic interests. This is a conclusion which is drawn from the empirical data, but it has consequences for the discipline of sociology which go far beyond the UPNG situation. The fundamental dilemma for sociology is, as Friedrichs (1970:298) recognizes, "how to commit outselves (sic) to an enterprise that must screen out the existential and yet claim it as a fundamental referent". Historical specificity may be far more important than most sociologists are willing to admit — though Marx recognized more than a century ago that "men make their own lives, but they do not make them under circumstances of their own choosing".

The study of structural change and conflict at UPNG is incomprehensible without reference to the existential behaviour of specific individuals. The realization that structure is simultaneously the ordered framework of an organization and a crucial source of change and conflict is a step in the right direction in the formulation of a more adequate theory of social structure. But how to blend a theory of structural dynamics with the notion that specific individuals are capable of manipulating and transcending their own structural positions must be one of the more challenging of the tasks facing modern sociology. The present research suggests no specific resolution to the dilemma.

We will now turn to the concluding Chapter for a more systematic discussion of each element contained within the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter IV.

NOTES

1. Interview with Dr J.T. Gunther, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
2. Interview with Dr G. Gris, April 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
3. ibid.
4. These attitudes were expressed by Dr Gris in a variety of places, such as in the reports of "The Committee of Enquiry into University Development" and "The Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries", as well as in private conversation and formal interviews, and in his speech delivered at the Ninth Waigani Seminar.
5. Interview with Mr W.E. Rees, Director of Higher Education, March 1975, Konedobu.
6. Inglis was absent from the country during the 1974 student strike.
7. The above statements are not strictly verbatim, but drawn from minutes and observations of the Academic Developments Committee.
8. Dr G. Frodin, "On Science Staffing: A Manifesto", Memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Academic Board, 4 June 1975, Academic Developments Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
9. Of course such a move would have been both politically and morally unjustifiable. Dr Gris vacated the position in mid-1977 and Mr Renagi Lohia, BA (PNG), MA, Dip.T. (Lond.), became the University's fourth Vice-Chancellor. A brief description of Mr Lohia's educational and employment background depicts the rapid promotion available to nearly all well-qualified Papua New Guineans. He was amongst the University's first group of indigenous graduates (1970) and, after a short period of employment, he studied for higher degree qualifications in the United Kingdom. In 1974 he was appointed senior tutor, then lecturer, in the University's Faculty of Education. Mr Lohia subsequently became Dean of the Faculty in 1975 and acted as a Pro-Vice-Chancellor in 1976.
10. Mr G. Young, Staff Officer, Memorandum to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, 10 July 1974, Localisation Review Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

11. Interview with UPNG administrator, March 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
12. Interview with UPNG administrator, July 1975, UPNG, Port Moresby.
13. Mr D. Sarwabe, Memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, March 1973, Localisation Review Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
14. Mr P. Bengo, "Points of Reference on the Pace of Localisation in the University of Papua and New Guinea", 14 March 1973, Localisation Review Committee File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.
15. Mr J. Waiko to members of the University Council, 17 July 1972, Localisation File, UPNG Archives, Port Moresby.

PART VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: A THEORETICAL REVIEW

CHAPTER XV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: A THEORETICAL REVIEW

UPNG is one of the many universities established within a new state during the last two to three decades. Like many of her sister institutions, UPNG was established for reasons of necessity and change arising from the country's colonial past. In order to educate an indigenous elite, Australia approved the Currie Commission's recommendation to establish an autonomous university at Port Moresby; and those who founded the University accepted as their first priority the task of educating indigenous graduate personnel for the country's complex public service. Because of the dearth of development of secondary and tertiary education in the past, UPNG was established with a sense of urgency. The peoples of PNG had already elected national political representatives, and a House of Assembly had been formed. But the country's bureaucracy was still run almost solely by expatriates. Some degree of localization had to be accomplished in the public service before there could be any effective transfer of political power to the peoples of PNG. The very newness and extreme rapidity of the University's development has given rise to many of the problems which the institution faces today.

Though UPNG is a new institution, it is also an institution with an important history. At the time this case study was conducted the University had been in operation a mere ten years. But into those ten years the institution and the nation as a whole had packed a history of development and change that has taken most other new nations several decades to accomplish.

In order to give emphasis to the rapidly changing social and political context in which the University was set, the institution was analyzed in terms of three stages of development. During the pioneering period, members of the UPNG community were faced with numerous difficulties. A university had to be planned at the same time as the first students were being enrolled. The Currie Report served as a general guide to development in the University's early years, but UPNG has never had any master plan for academic development. Members had to contend with the negative attitudes held by some expatriate settlers towards higher education and they were often forced to fight the Australian Department of Territories against financial cutbacks. Members also had to establish a tradition of a free and open university in a country without any indigenous models of higher education or an established group of indigenous graduates. Both staff and students had to contend with their cultural backgrounds in the teaching and learning process and the first students had to endure unpleasant living conditions. Possibly because of the very difficulties they faced, a sense of purpose, commitment and esprit de corps was demonstrated by members of the UPNG community during this period.

In the first stage of consolidation, the social context, both internal and external to the institution, changed dramatically. The University was now set within a self-governing nation and Australian colonialism was drawing to an end. Rapid growth had been achieved during the pioneering period and the time had arrived to consolidate and rationalize past developments. Members were faced with difficult decisions on the government, character, and future programme of the University. Some of the decisions made, such as the decision to democratize academic government and change the structure of decision-making, created new problems and emphasized old ones. Other decisions on the basic goals to be achieved — an argument which centred on local relevance and western university standards in curriculum design — had yet to be made. Many members of the University desired change in some of the institution's basic goals and characteristics, but were unsure of the appropriate direction in which to proceed. The same hesitancy about the future was also being experienced in the institution's host-society. During the first stage of consolidation the mere growth in student numbers helped to destroy what was in the past a small, close-knit community. Nearly all indigenous students now received their secondary training in PNG and no longer demonstrated the attachment to Australian values and lifestyle which was an apparent feature of many early students who had "gone south" for their secondary schooling. The reduction in expatriate part-time students helped to intensify the cultural conflict in the classroom. Indigenous students and academic staff commenced to drift apart during this stage of development, and members of the expatriate academic community generally became isolated from both the concerns of students and those of the nation as a whole. The field research was conducted during a period of transition from the first to the second stage of consolidation.

In the second stage of consolidation new leaders commenced to take control of the institution and the community was permeated with new ideas on what should be the basic aims and goals of a university in a new nation. It will be in the second stage of consolidation where the decisions about the University's future goals and aims will be made and where, possibly, the institution will be able to move more systematically towards achieving its goals. These decisions about the institution's future will be made, rightly so, by institutional leaders of Papua New Guinean nationality.

Martins (1974) criticizes sociological analysis for a lack of historical perspective and stresses that analysis which does not take account of time and history is ultimately sterile. The study of the UPNG community seems to suggest the importance of such a criticism. The character, structure, and function of the University all changed with time. During the period of field research members of the University were unsure of the goals and aims which were to be accomplished by a university in a new nation. But to understand members' questioning of the institution's future direction, we need to understand past accomplishments. Though the three stages of development outlined in the case study are themselves artificial constructs, the fact remains that an analysis of the University's operation which does not take a thorough look at the history of the institution and that of its host-society, would be distorted.

On the other hand, an institution's growth and development does not cease with the departure of the social researcher. Organizational analysis seems to be especially guilty of "freezing in time and space" the study of institutions, taking sufficient account of neither the past nor the future. For example, few studies of a single institution have been repeated. In our study of UPNG we had the privilege of looking at a certain portion of the institution's development. But the University and its host-society are still undergoing rapid change, and what seemed to be of importance to this study may only be boring detail to those who may wish to analyze the UPNG community some time in the future.

In Chapter II, *adaptation, change,* and *conflict* were identified as the major issues of concern to this study. These issues divided the study on the macro-level, and were themselves articulated by a simple theoretical framework, outlined in Part II, which was concerned with specific institutional processes. Before briefly reviewing the major issues, we will first discuss the simple theoretical model.

In Chapter IV, five institutional processes were identified as deserving of analysis: the dynamics of structural arrangements, normative behaviour, symbolic behaviour, politics of decision-making and policy formation, and the maintenance of social order. These processes were drawn from three basic models or "images" of the university: bureaucratic (with an emphasis on structure), normative, and political. It was stressed that the function of each process served a dual role: that is, the same processes that generate stability, integration, and consensus within the institution also generate the opposite. Certain questions were asked about the operation of each process and because of the emphasis upon the dialectical nature of conflict and consensus the framework was termed a "normative conflict model of university organization".

The model was constructed from mainstream sociological theory on the structure and function of the university organization. This case study has been designed to test how well past theories fit the UPNG experience. The empirical data has been presented and we will now examine the strengths and weaknesses of the model.

Social Structure and Normative Behaviour. In Chapter IV the following question was put forward:

> Does the organization's structure, through the rational integration and hierarchical arrangement (or rearrangement) of its various component parts maintain stability, equilibrium, and consensus within the institution?

Any institution or community must maintain a degree of balance between competing groups. Over and above all other processes, an institution exists in terms of a structure and demonstrates a degree of social order, for if they are abolished so is the institution. UPNG had at least a minimal amount of structural integration and it was presented to the public as a solid, whole organization. But this is not to say that the social system encompassed by the

University was static, nor was it necessary for the institution's component parts to exist in an *exact* state of equilibrium, functioning so as to determine the stability of the whole. For example, the Faculties of Arts and Science were integrated in terms of the University's overall structure; but if there was equilibrium between the two groups, then it was an equilibrium maintained by strain and conflict, not consensus. Because there is a discernible pattern to group relationships, and because this pattern in the formal organization is rational and legalistic, it does not mean that the structure determines a stable and efficient integration of persons and groups.

Sociologists have long been concerned with the factors which create social order and direct or determine the actions of organizational members. Structure is one of the key factors in any attempt at understanding the operation of a formal group. But dynamic processes contained within the structure itself have often been ignored, especially, as was stated in Chapter III, by the functionalist ("structural-functional") approach. Functionalism intimately links structure and function, but usually with the former responding to the latter in some straightforward, "organistic" fashion.

The structure-function approach to organizational analysis is often unfairly criticized, as van den Berghe (1963) and others have observed, for its inability to deal with processes of change. The problem with functionalism is not that it ignores change, but that change is assumed to be gradual, with the integrated parts of the system *adjusting* to it in an overall efficient and stabilising fashion. But change is not always gradual and reactions to it are not necessarily adjustive. Moreover, the structure of an institution can itself be both a force for change and conflict, and a hindrance to members' adjustive reactions to change.

In Chapter IV the following series of questions was asked:

> May the structure hinder adjustment to exogenous change, that is, change factors that arise from outside the organization?
>
> May the structure hinder adjustment to endogenous change, that is, change factors that arise from within the organization?
>
> May the structure itself generate dissension, imbalance, conflict and change within the organization?

It would have been impossible for the University to have carried out its day-to-day functions without an ordered pattern of interrelationships. If the social structure had not created some form of order and stability it would have been impossible for members of the University to communicate either decisions or knowledge. But at the same time, the institution's social structure hindered members in their attempt to adjust to environmental circumstances; and, more importantly, the structure, while *simultaneously* maintaining order, generated dissension and conflict. An attempt will be made to illustrate the point with a few examples from the field study.

First, the structure of the University was forced to respond to growth in size and complexity of the institution. The need arose to extend the decision-making process to more participants and to formalize channels of communication. One response by the University was to democratize academic government and the formal authority structure, a change largely unhindered by the existing structure. But the new policy and the structure it created sponsored additional conflicts. The elected representative system of academic government further entrenched factional interests and the expansion of the committee system did not strengthen and liberalize the decision-making process as was intended, but severely weakened the process itself.

Second, the creation of an elected representative structure of academic government was also meant to be an adjustive response to change occurring within the institution's external environment. With the approach of independence for PNG, members hoped to establish a system at the University where the indigenous academic could experience rapid promotion without the positions of leadership becoming prematurely controlled by a few indigenous professors. Members were aware of the trend of new universities to become conservative and inflexible once indigenous members commenced to take full control. The system of an elected departmental head was, in part, meant to counter such a tendency. Members hoped to avoid the situation that had arisen in other universities where a "god-professor" could enforce his will on junior staff and students (van den Berghe, 1973). However, the new structure was inadequate for those, such as the institution's first indigenous Vice-Chancellor, who hoped to change the institution's basic goals and aims.

The new system furthered the conflict between disciplines and faculties already present, and this conflict became a conservative force against change and effective decision-making. By the end of 1975 members were calling for a return to more centralized power. The committee structure had become so unwieldly, and plans and proposals were so over-debated throughout the structure as to become lost in a sea of verbiage. Consensus had become too diffuse and had to be sought on too many different levels. At one stage the University was even prompted to appoint a committee to investigate why there were so many committees.

At a time when the institution's goals and basic orientation were under question, when changes in goals and basic aims were required, a structure of academic government based upon a highly-developed, elected committee system proved inadequate. In addition, though the department and the discipline it represented had always been the main locus of power within the University, there was now no longer a group of powerful professors, especially in the arts, capable of transcending the departmental structure when circumstances required it. For both the new initiate and the long-serving members, the only alternative to discipline and department loyalty became interaction, socialization, and decision-making amongst faceless members of autonomous committees.

Third, the University's structure was placed in conflict with a change in policy arising from the institution's immediate external environment. Though the University did not institute all the structural innovations in teaching that were proposed, members have always placed emphasis on a general, round interdisciplinary system of education for the indigenous students. Because the University's first priority in its foundation was to train students for the public service, arts and humanities type subjects were strengthened, with the Faculty of Arts consuming a large portion of the University's resources. However, the policy being developed by the new government and its Office of Higher Education placed the emphasis on manpower requirements in the area of applied skills in the general science subjects. This precipitated a questioning in the arrangement of the faculties and placed the Faculty of Arts in further competition with other areas of the University and in conflict with the spirit of the government's policy on manpower.

Fourth, the basic contradiction in the University's structure is concerned with the interplay between a western system of higher education and students' cultural backgrounds. From the beginning, members of the UPNG community realized that because of poor secondary schooling and cultural background indigenous students would not be able to specialize early in their academic careers. On entry to the University, students required a broad, round education; and their exit from the University into administrative jobs in the public service also necessitated a general, interdisciplinary training. Despite the recognition of student needs, the University created a traditional faculty/departmental structure of academic organization. Some members of the Science Faculty feared domination by the Arts Faculty, while still others were devoted to building individual disciplines. Thus, the idea for a school of science was destroyed. For similar reasons, a joint arts/science faculty was abhorred by the latter group.

The structure, once formulated, did not serve as a force for unity. Rather, the orthodox faculty structure further differentiated groups and created contradictions. Members continually pressed for the need to integrate the disciplines. The idea of a common Foundation Year was suggested and much time and effort was given to its consideration. But the discipline interest of individuals and groups killed the idea as originally conceived. Changes were made; the Arts Faculty introduced foundation courses and the Science Faculty created the common core. In 1975 the Faculty of Arts instituted a Foundation Year for its students. But the issue of academic integration has never been fully resolved within the UPNG community and the contradictions inherent in the University's structure have continued to plague members and to prompt them into making additional changes.

The University's structure was not a rigid pattern of interrelationships that could not be changed. At UPNG there has been a great deal of structural re-ordering, though not always as extensive as some members might have wished. The structure hindered adjustments to change not because of its inflexibility, but because of the conflicts it helped to set in motion — conflicts which were inherent in the very pattern of ordered relationships.

The empirical data seems to justify the emphasis which the model gives to the dialectical nature of conflict and consensus. But the model starts to break down and lose its power of prediction once we attempt to apply specific theories which have been developed under different historical circumstances. Baldridge (1971a:105-18), for example, outlines competition between institutional "layers" or "spheres", competition between faculty and the central administration (what he calls "parallel authority structures"), and role pressure as the main elements generating conflict in New York University's formal bureaucracy. These forms or elements of conflict were present in the UPNG structure only to a limited degree.

At UPNG there were not, to any significant degree, the traditional conflicts between academic and administrative branches. Both "spheres" worked together to serve the needs of students. Moreover, in terms of academic affairs, there did not exist entrenched parallel authority structures in terms of professional and bureaucratic interests. Teacher and administrator were united both in the formal structure, (with the Vice-Chancellor as head of both branches), and in their interpersonal relationships.

Because hierarchical "layers" or "spheres" in the bureaucratic structure were not inclined towards fierce competition, role pressure was reduced at UPNG. Few academics ever found themselves "sandwiched" between competing layers in a multi-tiered system. For example, it would have been uncommon for a professor or dean of faculty at UPNG to be subject to extreme role pressure from the competing demands of students on the one hand, and the central administration on the other. There was often conflict between the student sub-culture and the rest of the University but, as described in Chapter XII, the ambivalence of students towards the University was due to much more than merely their positions within the formal bureaucracy.

Role conflict was a more significant and common phenomenon for the indigenous member of staff. However, it is difficult to tell how much of this conflict was due to formal bureaucratic arrangements and an individual's cultural background. The complexity of structural arrangements placed strains on the indigenous member of staff who had had little experience with working in a western institution. And in fulfilling his role the indigenous member of staff was caught between the norms and values of his cultural background and those of a western institution. But these were conflicts which Papua New Guineans were experiencing in all of the country's inherited western organizations; they were not peculiar to UPNG.

Furthermore, the conflicts inherent within UPNG's structure were not due to an unequal distribution of authority, as Dahrendorf (1959) might predict, nor due to an entrenched group of powerful professors controlling affairs at the senate level, as van den Berghe (1973) might hypothesize. The conflict at UPNG lay at the base of its structure, instead of being distributed up or down through the tiers of a hierarchical system. Also, it was a conflict due to contradictions within the basic structure itself, rather than due to individuals and groups attempting to further or protect their power and privilege within a bureaucratic hierarchy. Up to the time of the field study, the major positions of power in the University were occupied by transient foreigners. Individuals had not attempted to build personal "empires" within the institution, and power had not become entrenched within specific positions. Past analyses of structural conflict which have been developed through the examination of institutions with hierarchical authority structures do not fit the more egalitarian pattern which existed at UPNG.

But structure is only one element in our understanding of the UPNG community. Behind the structure lay other powerful social forces, not the least of which are the values, norms, and attitudes of organizational members. Contrary to past theoretical predictions, people do not merely fit into their respective positions or roles within an overall structure; within their limits of power and influence, they create the type of structure which suits their interests, personality, value commitments, and past experiences. Moreover, it seems that structural change does not necessarily transcend people's prior values, commitments, and past experiences. One of the most powerful social forces within the UPNG community is members' commitment to their respective disciplines and professions. And herein lies the fundamental challenge for the study of social structure: how to relate the personal, existential experiences of specific individuals to relational processes.

In Chapter IV several questions regarding the function of a university as a professional community were raised. We will deal with the least difficult of these questions first:

> How is an academic able to maintain professional authority in the face of competing pressures on his sovereignty in professional matters?
>
> And, whose (professional) authority is being sanctioned by what (professional) community?

The maintenance of professional *sovereignty* was not an overriding concern for most academic members of staff. While it was true that members were orientated primarily to their respective disciplines, they were not, especially vis-a-vis student demands, unduly concerned to protect their sovereignty in professional matters. Students often questioned what the academic had to say about a certain subject, particularly if the subject was related to their own cultures, and were sometimes not prepared to believe his interpretations. But members of academic staff, especially the non-science members, generally attempted to work within student criticism, rather than react against it. For example, a lecturer in history or anthropology would be inclined to make it clear to students that he recognized that they would be better informed than he about *some* of the raw data on PNG history and culture; also, most lecturers let it be known to students that their interpretations of the data were tentative, and open to revision and challenge.

Professional sovereignty was of some concern to the science and mathematics teacher at UPNG. Most members of the Science Faculty believed that they had complete professional sovereignty because, according to members of the Faculty, indigenous students came from a "science-free" culture. Few scientists were prepared to draw upon students' own background in the teaching of their discipline; rather, they considered that they virtually had to start from scratch in teaching science at UPNG. This viewpoint was challenged by other sections of the University, especially by members of the Arts Faculty. In this sense, professional sovereignty and community sanction, or lack of it, of professional authority did create strains and conflict within the institution.

But the emphasis the model gives to conflict being generated by professional authority and sovereignty is not very useful in terms of the UPNG situation. Once again, the lack of utility of these theoretical constructs is probably due to the fact that they were developed by authors dealing with more hierarchical organizations. For example, Hind (1971), Baumgartel (1955), Meltzer (1956), and

Scott (1966) suggest that the sanctioning of professional authority creates conflict between the professional community and the organization's central bureaucracy. At UPNG this was one of the least important of all forms of group conflict. Possibly this was due to the transient nature of expatriate staff and the fact that all expatriates shared a common identity by being "non-nationals". But it also seems that a lack of conflict on this level was due to the nature, personalities, values, and past experiences of those who have worked for the University's administration. People in the central administration built a tradition of service and co-operation in their relations with both the academic and student communities. And this tradition was made possible by individuals who believed that academic administration should further the effective teaching of students, and not merely guard and manage the institution's capital resources.

In Chapter IV we also asked:

> May normative consensus in one group create conflict between groups that hold to different norms and values?
>
> And, how do members' past patterns of socialisation and experience affect the stability of both the faculty and university?

An understanding of "normative conflict" is, it seems, essential to an understanding of the UPNG community. Members' norms and values centred on their respective academic departments and the disciplines which each represented. The narrow specialization that many members of the academic community received in their training served to reinforce their commitment to their own discipline and, in academic matters, separate them from those who had trained in other disciplines. The academic department was the basic social and political unit within the organization. Members were inclined to give their first allegiance to their discipline and though all departments were not solid units, members' norms and values did tend to create consensus within groups of the same discipline, and conflict between groups trained in different disciplines. While it seems that past socialization into the norms and values of an academic discipline has a powerful effect on academic men and women, it is a force which does more than sponsor social integration.

The model's emphasis upon normative conflict is probably one of its most important strengths. Normative analysis, especially the way in which functional theorists employ it to examine value consensus and social stability, has recently fallen into disrepute. But in the analysis of any community norms cannot be judged irrelevant; they are part and parcel of the social scene. For any society or community to survive, there must be some degree of acceptance by members on certain central norms and values. But contrary to what is predicted by functionalist theory, norms and value consensus are not a basic one-directional force for social integration; members' norms and values are a force for conflict and change as much as for consensus and integration.

It would be difficult to picture actors within the UPNG community behaving *solely* in terms of internalized norms and value systems. The decision-making process did not operate according to members' pursuit of consensus based on internalized values and norms on what was, or was not, the best form of education in a new nation; nevertheless, such norms were often brought into play to support a certain position. Yet behaviour of institutional members was normative, and much of it was based on personal values and past patterns of socialization.

The text has demonstrated how norms can be manipulated to advance group interest, how they can be simply ignored under certain circumstances (such as the apparent conflict between localization and non-discrimination in academic appointments), and how norms and values themselves can be in conflict (such as the expressed value of students developing anti-elitist attitudes, while their very purpose for attending the University is to become elite members of the society).

Members' norms, values, and past patterns of socialization did not create or further structural integration; in fact, these factors helped to create a traditional faculty/departmental structure of academic organization which furthered the separation of groups and hindered attempts at academic integration. When members did attempt structural integration they were often unable to transcend their own norms, values, and past experiences.

Naturally, on other planes, members' norms and values did create consensus, co-operation, and integration. One example is the close relations between the academic and administrative branches of the University. But the empirical evidence strongly supports the proposition that the same forces which create unity and consensus within the system simultaneously generate disunity and conflict.

The final question asked about the professional nature of the University was:

> Why is a faculty or department dependent
> upon one certain theory and fund of
> knowledge, and not on others?

Owing to the fact that UPNG was founded in a nation without any indigenous model of higher education, all "theories" and "funds of knowledge" had to be drawn from western sources. Many courses concentrated on PNG material, but the material was interpreted through western frameworks of teaching and learning. If the University had been founded on non-western principles and had ignored the traditional subjects taught by universities elsewhere, it is possible that there would have been strong resistance from indigenous students and politicians.

Members of the UPNG community have always given careful consideration to what specifically should be taught in the curriculum and what was "appropriate" knowledge for a new university in a new nation. Questions on the nature of the curriculum became intensified and generated major conflicts during the University's first stage of consolidation. During this period "relevance" in the curriculum was defined in terms of an emphasis upon rural development. But not all members of the academic staff were prepared to accept rural development as the primary concern for their courses.

There were several aspects involved in the conflict over course relevance, only a few of which will be summarized here. The official policy of the new government placed its emphasis upon rural development, and as Papua New Guineans assumed control of their own institutions there was a general questioning of the relevance of what was essentially (and necessarily) an Australian university to the needs and requirements of PNG society. The nature of the student body was changing and indigenous students who had not been to Australia for secondary education began to dominate. Students had also placed their support, at least in terms of a verbal commitment, behind the country's rural poor. New members were joining the institution with backgrounds, biases, and experiences different from those of the founding fathers. Many of the new members found little meaning in the Australian model and started looking for alternatives. Much of the debate which occurred at UPNG over planning the curriculum reflected the different experiences and backgrounds of those who participated in the discussions.

The above and several other factors were involved in the conflict over the orientation of the University's curriculum. At the end of the field study the conflict had yet to be resolved. But one conclusion that can be drawn from this conflict is that when examining the professional nature of an academic community, even members' very "theories" and "funds of knowledge" must be regarded as crucial sources of tension and social cleavage. Moreover, an understanding of the conflict itself involves an examination of the general pool of experiences and enthusiasms of community members. More will be said about this when we turn our attention to an examination of decision-making and policy formation.

Symbolic Behaviour: The Organizational Saga. We do not reject the importance of members' values and norms, and the meaning they attach to their own actions, nor do we take issue with the notion that organizational members may share *certain* values, symbols, and commitments in common. We do reject, however, the premise that these factors determine "orderly, stable, socially integrating forms and structures" (Broom and Selznick, 1963:250).

In Chapter IV the concept of an organizational saga was identified as an important feature in members' symbolic behaviour. The concept was drawn from the works of Burton Clark (1970; 1972), and an organizational saga simply refers to a publicly expressed story or explanation about group uniqueness that is shared by the group with emotion and sentiment. Once the concept had been defined, we asked the following questions about its function:

> Does the specific history, embellished stories of past accomplishments and accounts of group uniqueness, serve as a stabilising and unifying force within the organization?
>
> May the emotional loading which organizational members attach to past goals and achievements, under certain circumstances, countermine social cohesion within the organization?
>
> May members' very commitment to past goals and modes of behaviour serve as a major stumbling block to the

> implementation of innovatory practices, to radical change in collective goals, and to adjustments in behaviour which a dramatic change in the environment, either internal or external, necessitates?

The concept of an organizational saga has been useful in identifying members' belief in the institution's original "mission", and in relating their actions to external environmental influences. UPNG was founded for specific political, social, and technical reasons, mainly to counter Australia's past failure to educate a cadre of indigenous leaders in PNG. The immediate technical function for the new University was to train indigenous graduate personnel for the top echelon positions in the public service. However, staff, students, and the public at large valued the University for being more than purely a technical instrument.

The University's organizational saga, the publicly expressed story about group uniqueness and the institution's mission in PNG society, was based upon the pioneering of a new university. It told of specific events, such as the rugged physical conditions which members had to endure and their fights with government over funding and other issues. But it also told of a special mission and belief which members had in their institution. The peoples of PNG were to have a university equal in standard and quality to those in Australia, and any attempt by the colonial Administration or the Australian Department of Territories to interfere in such development was to be strongly resisted. The University was to be the "premier educational institution" of PNG, active in public affairs and itself a strong force against colonialism.

The saga was not a mythical story but based on fact. Members of the University were required to guard the institution's standards against the prejudices of some expatriate settlers and the policies of government bureaucrats. Often the institution's members were forced to justify what was meant by a "university" to the Department of Territories, and were forced to fight for these justifications. The University not only served as a forum for many of the young, educated Papua New Guinean politicians, but also served as as example. Members of the University community mounted a semi-organized, consistent and semi-radical critique against colonialism — at the time a novel event for PNG in itself. Furthermore, in establishing an institution of "superior quality" — an institution which "knew best" on matters of higher education — and in being prepared to guard jealously its autonomy, its members were denying the supposed right of a colonial power to interfere with PNG affairs.

But the mission, and the saga which gave it life and vitality, did not remain appropriate for all time, nor was the saga always useful as a justification for members' actions. Selznick (1949) is one of the first organizational theorists to examine in detail the vulnerability of an institution's mission to environmental influences. He described a situation where the managers of the Tennessee Valley Authority were susceptible to strong influence from the local environment, which slowly eroded the original goals and aims of the institution. But the original mission developed by the members of UPNG was not so much slowly eroded by environmental influences: it was made inappropriate by dramatic changes that were occurring in the environment itself.

With self-government and independence for PNG, hostility towards government by University members was now unwise and inappropriate, and the equating of UPNG with Australian universities became less important than the development of local relevance. Environmental circumstances required a shift in the institution's basic mission. But the original mission and the emotional and sentimental stories constructed around past accomplishments still retained importance for many members of the UPNG community. As Clark has elaborated, an organizational saga has meaning insofar as it becomes institutionalized and helps to justify the actions of organizational members. The University's saga was institutionalized in the sense that one heard the same story repeated on numerous occasions by different people, but it no longer served as a justification for members' actions.

For those members of the University community who felt the institution had more meaning when the saga was still appropriate — that is, when there was still a strong belief in UPNG as a "superior" institution and in the image of the institution as an aggressive social critic — the saga itself served to stifle members' actions in terms of their adjustment to the new circumstances. Many members resented what they saw as an eroding of the institution's autonomy and felt that the University had lost its power to effectively participate in national affairs. Certain members who had a strong attachment to the institution's original mission interpreted movements to restructure institutional goals as a belittling of past achievements and as an attack on the "idea" of a university itself.

The organizational saga served, during the pioneering period, as an expression of members' belief in the institution and as a justification for furthering its mission. But during the period of field research the same saga, the same or similar story about group uniqueness and past accomplishments, served a different function. Members' institutional "folk history" seemed to be more of a longing for "paradise lost" than an effective justification for defending and furthering their goals and aims. Also it seemed the inappropriateness of the saga under the changed circumstances was an important aspect of the general uncertainty which members had about the institution's future.

In the present study we have attempted to describe how the *significance* of certain symbols and emotions which members attach to the University changed with time. However, the analysis raises more questions than it has been able to answer; for example, what are the conditions which will enable members to replace the old saga with a new set of symbols and beliefs? Must a new saga be based on new and unique accomplishments, or may the present one be adjusted and revitalised? And for how long can symbols and beliefs be inappropriate but nevertheless persist as important features of the institution's social reality?

There is a need for more theoretical work in the discipline of sociology on precisely how group beliefs and symbols affect the development of communities and organizations. It is commonly assumed that symbolic interaction is a one-directional force which helps members to achieve institutional goals. But we have seen in the present research that this is not always the case. The social theorist will need to take a more careful look at how symbols, belief systems, ideologies, and so on, create conflict and act as impediments to social development.

Decision-making and Policy Formation. Baldridge (1971a) has constructed a "political" model of university organization which focuses on processes of policy formation and decision-making. Policy formation takes place, according to Baldridge, within a pluralistic social structure, fractured by sub-cultures and divergent interest groups. With regard to the formation and implementation of policy, groups attempt to advance their interests over those of others. Drawing on Baldridge's model we advanced several questions about the "political nature" of university decision-making; firstly:

> To what extent is the organization's social environment pluralistic?

An answer to this question in terms of the UPNG community needs little elaboration. The social structure was divided into numerous divergent groups. Some of the main lines of cleavage were structured on factors of sex, nationality, ethnicity, pedagogical philosophy, discipline orientation, faculty, previous academic training, and student membership. Of course, an individual could belong to more than one group at one time. In order to assess the dynamics of decision-making the following questions were put forward:

> How effective are the various interest groups in bringing pressure to bear on the decision-making process; and what forms of legitimate and non-legitimate power and authority are available to various groups for influencing the process?

As stressed throughout the text, decision-making on academic matters was usually structured around the interests of the department and the faculty. When an issue at hand affected the entire academic community, each faculty operated as a solidarity group, attempting to advance its respective interests over those of others. When issues were not at an overall organizational level, departments within faculties operated as a solidarity group vis-a-vis other departments. Generally, the Faculty of Arts, because it had the numbers and some very capable members versed in "university politics", had an advantage over other faculties in its ability to place pressure on the decision-making process. But this advantage only operated when debate on a policy was University-wide.

Baldridge's political model is only partially useful in explaining the social events which occurred at UPNG. In concentrating on the process of group conflict, Baldridge fails to take sufficient account of the power of the individual. Certain individual members of UPNG, irrespective of their group membership, were able to bring pressure to bear on the decision-making processes. For example, the Planning Officer played an important role in the decision made by the Faculty of Arts to implement a Foundation Year. He had access to the information that the Office of Higher Education was going to "stream" student enrolments and he was able to influence the Faculty by using this information to instill in them a sense of urgency with regard to implementing a Foundation Year. Also, the sheer energy, skill, and enthusiasm of certain individuals, such as the Planning Officer, played an important part in the general decision-making process.

Power and authority linked with status, were not, in a formal sense, important variables within the UPNG community. In debates over policy, a tutor or lecturer often had as much to say, and often just as much influence, as a professor. The deans of faculty had more influence than other members of academic staff, mainly because their administrative tasks placed them in close contact with the important policies and issues. The Faculties of Science and Agriculture were more inclined to be hierarchical than the Faculty of Arts, but generally throughout the University "egalitarianism" was the norm. For example, a dean of faculty or a departmental chairman could not commit his faculty or department to any one policy or decision without having the prior approval of the academic staff which he represented.

Organizational theorists often draw the conclusion that effective decision-making is dependent upon *all* interest groups and "structural divisions" in an organization being able to participate in policy formation (see, for example, Baldridge, 1971a:207). But from the present research it seems that the popular assumption that "access" is the basic and absolute requirement for effective decision-making, may be mistaken, or at least unduly emphasized. The presence of an "elite" able to transcend factional interests is, possibly, just as basic and important.

As indicated in the text, one of the problems currently facing the University is that a situation has been created where issues are *over* debated, and the effectiveness of decision-making has been reduced by the ability of *too* many groups to veto the plans and schemes that are proposed. During the early years of the institution's development there existed a group of powerful professors who could, when necessary, transcend departmental and faculty interests in the decision-making processes. However, there is no longer present at UPNG what Eisenstadt (1965:55) terms "an active group of special 'entrepreneurs', an elite, able to offer solutions to the new range of problems..." Possibly, for good and obvious reasons, the University may have to wait until its own graduates take up positions of responsibility in the academic community before such an "elite" can again be formed.

Though not all forms of influence used by members to place pressure on decision-making were legitimate, there was a general recognition that people should play by the "rules of the game". If an actor hoped to influence a policy decision then, generally, he had to operate within the confines of "proper academic procedure"; academic norms and values could not be blatantly ignored or cynically manipulated. For example, the fact that the Office of Higher Education was proposing to "stream" enrolments was an extraneous criterion on which to judge the educational desirability of an Arts Foundation Year and the form it should take. Certain members were able to use the "streaming" proposal to influence the Faculty in accepting a form of Foundation Year that it had previously rejected. But the argument was couched in terms of members' norms and values, that is, it was impressed upon members that if they wished to retain their autonomy in deciding what was pedagogically desirable for students, and have the students' first year "as a non-vocational learning experience", then they had to act urgently.

Group competition and conflict is the basic element in the political model of university decision-making. But at UPNG, important policy decisions were not always subject to the political influence of competing groups. On occasions, important decisions were reached by general consensus, with very little debate sponsored by the various divergent groups in the academic community. This was especially true when an issue directly affected the affairs and concerns of students. In general, the academic and student communities were not in competition with each other. There was a general recognition by members of academic staff that they were in PNG to serve indigenous students, and student needs and priorities usually superseded all others. The two communities had drifted apart and academic staff were somewhat isolated from their students. But this was due to a variety of complex reasons described in Chapter XII; it was not because academic staff pursued their own interests in disregard of those of students.

The final question advanced on decision-making and policy formation was:

> To what extent are the biases, world view, values, and interests of the individual and groups who participate in policy decisions, reflected in the resultant official policy?

Policy formation is more than a mechanistic process whereby actors collect and synthesize information on certain schemes, and then form consensus on the most adequate of several alternatives. Through the resolution of conflicting interests, any policy, plan, or scheme usually undergoes significant alteration from the time it is introduced to the time it is officially accepted. However, this is only one aspect involved in the dynamics of the process. Official policy is a product of group compromise and political bargaining as the political model predicts. But it is also, as the University's Planning Officer has pointed out (O'Neill, 1974), based on the convictions, biases, and world views of those who participate in its formation and implementation.

There were three primary aspects to the processes of policy formation and decision-making at UPNG. First, groups competed with each other in an attempt to elicit decisions favourable to their own interests and values. Second, a resultant policy was based on the general "pool" of experiences, biases, and world views that existed across the groups who participated in planning and policy formation. Third, members' interests, biases, and world views were themselves subject to environmental influences and restraints; and on this level time and change played an important role.

Examples of how these three aspects were intertwined in the plans, policies, and decisions made by University members were given in the above discussion on "relevance" in the curriculum. But it may be worthwhile to briefly review the discussion.

In the early years policies and discussions on course design, academic organization, and so on, were fiercely debated; but in general, the discussions and arguments took the Australian experience of higher education as their basic point of reference. Members did not ignore PNG material in their courses and Australian standards were *not* blindly enforced. But many members of the academic community had themselves experienced the Australian system of higher education; further, courses were externally examined, mostly by external examiners drawn from Australian universities. In various ways the environment placed pressure on members to view their policies and programmes in terms of Australian standards, curriculum, and so on. There was no Melanesian model of higher education and, hence, the Australian university served as the most immediate "standard" for members to judge what was being accomplished at UPNG. Indigenous students would have felt slighted by an institution that was mediocre in terms of Australian standards and, in developing the institution, members often had to call upon the Australian academic community and professional bodies for public support.

As the University developed within a changing environment, decision-making and policy formation remained as processes of group conflict and political compromise; and indeed, some of the general arguments, such as the debate over structural integration, continued throughout the institution's history. But, in general, the criteria being debated, the nature of the proposals and recommendations, and members' general points of reference changed with a change in the make-up of the academic community and environmental circumstances. During the field study the proposals advanced by the Gris Committee, not those of the Currie Commission, were being debated. Student progress was no longer related to the Australian experience, and "external examiners" had already been replaced by "external consultants" with an experience of higher education in other new nations. Processes of decision-making and policy formation at UPNG were what Baldridge (1971a:22) identifies as circular processes of interest articulation → resolution of conflict → policy formation and execution → generation of new conflicts. But the phenomenon of decision-making at UPNG was more than a circular process of political conflict. While a policy decision could be a gain for one group and a loss for another, members' general experiences and world views, as well as their ability to operate within environmental restraints, were factors just as important as their immediate group interests.

The political model of the university organization as developed by Baldridge and van den Berghe is a theoretical advancement over the "normative" and "bureaucratic" models. But it has definite weaknesses when applied to the social reality of UPNG. If the political model is to be universally applicable, it needs to be altered so that it has more impact and predictive power when faced with the task of explaining the social actions of groups and individuals operating within an egalitarian type of structure.

"Traditional" Melanesian societies were more egalitarian than societies organized around a hereditary aristocracy. This fact and the lack of extended political structures in "traditional" Melanesian cultures allowed members to pursue principles of egalitarianism at UPNG unhindered by "traditional" organizational forms. But it was the foreign academics at UPNG who promoted egalitarian structures and the majority of the individuals who participated in structural change were of Australian nationality. Though social class is just as important in Australia as in any other western nation, egalitarianism is one of the principal ideals of Australian society. Academics at UPNG imported the Australian "Ideal Type" of egalitarianism.

Social Order (Passive). Interaction amongst the members of the University community was not depicted by the image of a collegium of scholars formulating consensus on the major policies and goals to be pursued by the institution. Rather, the University's community was pluralistic, split into various divergent interest groups and subcultures. In the above discussion on structure and other processes, conflict, not order, was emphasized. So, in what sense was social order maintained?

Though the UPNG community was divided along lines of interest groups, and though there was conflict between groups, there was in no sense a war of "all against all". Staff members did not become polarized on the issues and no one group had enough strength to impose its interests on all others. As the issues changed, group alliance changed. For example, when the "annual battle" over staff allocation was in progress, members of the Arts Faculty acted generally as a solidarity group against members of the Science Faculty. The Science Faculty found a useful ally in the Medical Faculty which generally supported their requests. But when the issue shifted to the actual planning of an Arts Foundation Year, the departments in this Faculty often acted as solidarity groups against each other. In the passive sense, social order was maintained by shifting lines of conflict and consensus. On this point, political theories of university organization fit the UPNG experience.

There is nothing unhealthy about processes of social conflict. Because members of a community are at odds with each other over specific issues, does not mean that the community is near the brink of dissolution. In fact, the UPNG academic community, as a whole, demonstrated a good deal of stability — especially for a group of transient foreigners. Conflict helps to air the issues, sponsor change, and give the community a degree of vitality.

Social Order (Active). The maintenance of the University is not based on members forming consensus on universalistic norms and values. The norms and values prevalent within the institution are too diverse and contradictory to actively maintain social order. Rather, the University survives because it is in everyone's interest to have it that way.

So far, nobody either within or outside the University has seriously proposed its demise. Admittedly, for many members of the expatriate academic community, the institution became less valuable. But even these members of the University complement other groups within the organization in terms of a shared interest in keeping the basic system alive and healthy. Though from the time of their appointment expatriate academics are conditioned to leave the organization, it is in their interest to contribute to the maintenance of the University, for their performance at UPNG will be judged when they go elsewhere.

The recent problem faced by the University has been a crisis in internal decision-making, but this has not constituted a threat to the institution's survival. The PNG government has narrowed, to a certain degree, the institution's role in society (that is, to provide the country's manpower according to specific requirements in discrete categories), and has attempted to achieve economies in the University's budget. Members of the University have, of late, greatly reduced their participation in public affairs. Also, there exists within the institution conflict over the relevance of the curriculum, the standards of the University, and the goals and aims to be achieved in specific teaching programmes. Exogenous and endogenous circumstances and events have partially isolated the members of the expatriate academic community. But on the level where the image of the University is presented to the public, UPNG is a solid, protected, and ongoing institution. University members fought behind the scenes to protect the institution's students and autonomy during the strikes (strikes which some members did not even agree with). In implementing a Foundation Year, members of the Faculty of Arts who would not have otherwise done so, united to protect the autonomy of the Faculty and of the University when it seemed both were threatened by outside forces.

An institution has value because it is a viable enterprise for its members as well as for members of the larger society. It is in everyone's interest — both in a material and emotional sense — to protect the survival of UPNG. Some time in the future the government or other groups in the society may ask whether the University is needed. But the point is that institutions are not merely self-sustaining, but require active commitment and protection by their members. The "golden egg norm" helps to explain how individuals and groups can be in conflict with each other and with the institution itself, while simultaneously limiting their conflicts so that the institution is not destroyed. This is one of the more valuable elements in the theoretical framework for it helps to explain the personal motivation of individuals without referring entirely to relational processes.

MAJOR ISSUES: ADAPTATION, CHANGE AND CONFLICT

In the study of the UPNG community an attempt has been made to examine processes of "adaptation" in terms of members' own definitions of what is and is not "relevant" for a new university in a Melanesian environment. There was no Melanesian model of higher education to adopt or reject for those who founded UPNG. The University introduced an entirely new element into Papua New Guinean society and has itself been a significant force for change. From its very beginning, the University deviated from the Australian model of higher education. UPNG never has been, and possibly never will be a static community. But the institution will always remain, to some extent, a foreign implantation.

Adaptations have taken place at UPNG in terms of members' continual search for the best possible structure, form of teaching, and curriculum which will benefit students from a non-western background in their experience with a western system of higher education. Many plans and schemes — a common science core, a common foundation year, an arts foundation year, interdisciplinary boards of studies, and interdisciplinary courses, to name but a few — have been discussed, and a few implemented. Changes and adaptations at UPNG, though diffuse, have not been random. University members have continually sought to move towards academic integration as one approach to the problems arising from the cultural background of their students.

Yet, members have never been able to agree on what are the most beneficial forms and structures for a new university in a new nation. While some members desired academic integration, others felt that the most adequate achievements and adaptations could be effected through individual disciplines. These conflicts gave the community dynamism and prevented the University from adopting a conservative and rigid outlook on higher education.

Often, processes of change within the UPNG community, as with other institutions, are more apparent than real. To the casual observer it may seem that change is most active, whereas in reality the process serves to mask the stability in the residual core structure. For all the changes in authority structure and moves towards interdisciplinary approaches at UPNG, the basic strength and autonomy of the individual disciplines remains. Traditional conflicts between arts and science orientated groups have not been overcome. The structure of political power within the University as centred on the department and the faculty has not been greatly altered since the institution's inception. Change, conflict, order, and stability are all characteristics of the UPNG community, none of them ever achieving a permanent ascendancy.

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Index

academic government, 137-48, 158-59, 202-5, 206
academic integration, 102-5, 137-43 (*See also* Foundation Year); Science Common Core 106-7
Administrative College, 61; and Pangu Pati, 61
Altbach, P., 67
Armer, M., 5
Ashby, E., 2, 19, 20, 23, 50, 58, 67, 212
Australian administration, 16-17, 24; and Department of Territories, 77-85; and education, 51-66
authority, 35; and professionalism, 36-7, 110, 224-25, 226-27

Baldridge, J., 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 42 fn, 49, 152, 205, 224, 232, 233, 235
Ballard, J., 87, 124, 125, 127, 170
Barnes, C., 78
Barnes, J., 16, 17, 187
Becker, H., 2, 6, 8, 10
Bell, W., 18
Belle, T., 65
Bendix, R., 5
Bennis, W., 34
Bernstein, B., 43 fn
Blandy, R., 92
Bourdieu, P., 43 fn
Brammall, J., 65
Broom, L., 6, 37, 229
Brown Committee, 119, 161
Buarque, C., 22

Carnoy, M., 65
case study method, 1-15; comprehensive understanding, 8; defined, 15 fn; general logic of, 7-12; generation and testing of theory, 10-11; reliability of, 6-7, 9-12; typicality of, 10-12
Chalmers, A., 11
Clark, B., 31, 38, 44 fn, 131-32, 229, 231
Clignet, R., 23
Cohen, R., 54
Colebatch, H., 59
Coleman, J., 22, 23
Committee of Enquiry into Academic Salaries, 122, 123, 155, 172
comparative method, 4-7
complex organizations, 27, 29; conflict theory, 27, 29; theory of, 31-42
Conroy, J., 63, 64
consensus, 27
Coser, L., 28, 40
Cultural Relativism, 4-6
Curle, A., 18, 24
Currie Commission, 17, 20, 61, 69-73, 79, 87, 99-100, 107, 119, 200, 219, 235
Currie, G., 69, 88fn

Dahrendorf, R., 28, 40, 141, 225
Dalglish, T., 32
development and modernization theory, 3-5
Devon, R., 65
Duff, J., 2, 20
Dundonald, J., 92

Edel, A., 28
egalitarianism, 123, 200, 206, 235-36 (*see also* "Melanesian Way"); and rural commitment, 169-71
Eisenstadt, S., 3, 24, 140-41, 158, 233
elitism, 23, 54, 59, 65-66, 127, 171-72, 233; anti, 23
Emmerson, D., 22
ethnicity, 25 fn, 176, 192; tribalism, 25 fn
Etzioni, A., 35
external examiners, 99

Faculty of Medicine, 81-83
Fafunwa, A., 19
Fallers, L., 5
female students, 162-63, 177-81
Financial Review Committee, 120
Floud, J., 29
Foot Commission, 59, 61-62
Foster, B., 5
Foster, P., 21, 64, 67, 96
Foundation Year, 107-10, 148-52
Friedrichs, R., 215

Gans, H., 2, 8, 11
Geertz, C., 5-7, 10, 11
Gilbert, I., 19
Glenny, L., 32
Gluckman, M., 28, 40
Godwin, K., 5
Goody, J., 3
Goroka Teachers College, 79
graduate employment, 22
Greenwood, E., 36
Griffin, J., 1, 75, 87-88
Gris Committee, 123, 124, 154, 155, 175, 197, 200, 235
Gris, G., 121, 123, 124, 196-97, 198-205
Grocott, P., 127
Gross, N., 31
Groves, M., 58
Groves, W., 55
Grundy, K., 54
Gulick, L., 34
Gunther, J., 20, 69, 74, 76, 81, 86, 88-89 fn, 91, 116-18, 120, 135, 143, 198-99

Halsey, A., 109, 204
Hannah, H., 32
Hanson, J., 18, 31
Hargreaves, J., 50
Hasluck, P., 57-62
Hind, R., 36
Howie-Willis, I., 59, 60
Hudson, W., 59

indigenization, 24, 207-14; of universities, 19
Indonesia, 59
Inglis, K., 46, 76, 77, 78, 84-85, 116-18, 120, 147, 212
Inkeles, A., 4-5
Institute of Higher Technical Education, *See* University of Technology
institutionalization, 18, 37

Jolly, R., 212

Kaestle, C., 29
Kant, I., 30 fn
Karmel, P., 73, 74, 78, 80, 99
Katz, D., 34
Kerr, C., 43 fn
Kuhn, T., 11

League of Nations, 52
Legge, J., 51
Legislative Council, 61-62
Lett, L., 51
Leys, C., 212
Likert, K., 34
Lipset, S., 66
Lloyd, P., 54
localization. *See* indigenization
Louis, W., 52
Lunsford, 32

MacGregor, W., 51
Mann, F., 34
Mannoni, O., 23
manpower planning, 22, 131
Marxism, 27
Mau, J., 18
Mazrui, A., 4, 67
Mead, G., 215
"Melanesian way", 167-69, 200
Merton, R., 10, 11
Meszaros, I., 28
Miller, R., 54
Millett, J., 43 fn
mission education, 52-53, 54, 55, 165-66
Moodie, G., 205
Moore, S., 29
Moskos, C., 18
Murray, H., 51-52

Nelson, H., 55
New Guinea, Territory of, 51-52
Nisbet, R., 4, 10, 29 fn
norms, 27, 159; and social conflict, 27, 105; 207, 214-16, 221-32; and universities, 35-39

observation, 11 (*See also* Case Study Method); participant, 13-14
Office of Higher Education, 120, 131
Oldfield, F., 123, 154-55, 189

Pangu Pati, 61, 125-26
Papua New Guinea: House of Assembly, 17, 59; independence of, 16-17, 24, 61, 121, 125, 231; and secondary education, 59-62; self-government, 24, 61, 116-17, 121, 125, 130, 162, 231
Papua, Territory of, 51-52
Parker, R., 58, 77

Parsons, T., 4, 34, 215
Perkins, J., 31
Perrow, C., 21
Pettman, J., 65
Petty, M., 65
Popper, K., 11
Portes, A., 5
Powell, J., 170, 190
preliminary year, 71, 75, 94, 131, 161-62; first students, 94

Radi, H., 53, 54
Rex, J., 29
Rice, A., 34
Roe, E., 60
role theory, 215
Rowley, C., 52

Saga, 38, 47, 86-88, 129-32, 198, 229-31; and complex organizations, 38
Selznick, P., 37, 44 fn, 215, 230
Shaw, M., 28
Sheelan, B., 171
Sheldon, O., 34
Shils, E., 2, 4, 19, 22, 25 fn, 129
Silverman, D., 28
Simmel, G., 29
Smith, G., 63
social conflict, 8-9, 27-29, 206, 214-16, 221-37; active, 40, 236-37; norms, 27-29; passive, 40, 236; and social cohesion, 40-41
social order, 8-9, 27-29, 37, 214-16, 221-37; active, 236-37, passive, 236
Spate, O., 58, 69, 88 fn
Stace, D., 162
Stroup, H., 32
structural-functionalism, 27
structure: change, 21; conflict, 34, 101-2, 111, 141-42, 206, 214-16, 221-32; egalitarianism, 11
student politics, 22
student strikes, 127-29, 201

Taylor, F., 34
Terreberry, S., 34
Thomas, E., 64
Thompson, J., 34
Tigilai, M., 121
Tipps, D., 4, 5

United Nations, 59
universal primary education, 62
universities: adaptation of, 18-21; and bureaucracy, 32; and norms, 35-39; and structural conflict, 34, 206, 214-16; as complex organizations, 31-42; community of scholars, 43 fn; in newly independent nations, 18-24, 50, 58, 212; modern origins, 2, 166-67; new, 92-93
University of Technology, 79-81, 200
UPNG Interim Council, 73

van den Berghe, P., 9, 11, 20, 21, 22, 27-29, 39, 40, 41, 42 fn, 206, 212, 222, 223, 225

Weber, M., 32
Weeks, S., 55
West, F., 51
Wilson, C., 2, 3
Willoughby, J., 60-61
Wilson, M., 170
Woolford, D., 59, 61, 176

Young, M., 43 fn

Zaltman, G., 34